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Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch, and Geor
Brysson,

MEMOIRS.

MEMOIRS

OF

MR. WILLIAM VEITCH,

AND

GEORGE BRYSSON,

WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES:

WITH

OTHER NARRATIVES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND NOTES,

BY THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH: AND
T. CADELL, STRAND, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XXV.

PREFACE.

THE pieces composing this volume relate to an important period of our national history, which, after all that has been written on it, still admits of farther illustration.

The Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch are printed from a MS. belonging to David Constable, Esq. advocate, who very obligingly put it into my hands with a view to publication. It bears to have been "written and carefully collated with the original, Aug. 11, 1727." In the Advocates Library is a copy of a Diary, chiefly religious, written by Mrs. Veitch, which confirms and throws light on several passages of her husband's Memoirs. The original of this is in the possession of W. Henderson Somerville of Fingask and Whitecroft, Esq. a descendant of Mr. Veitch, to whom I am indebted for the use of several docu-

ments relating to the family. Others were communicated by Mr. Short, Town Clerk of Dumfries. I have also to acknowledge the kindness of the Reverend Dr. Duncan of Dumfries, and the Reverend Mr. Somerville of Drumelzier, in furnishing me with extracts from the church-records in their bounds, which were very useful to me in drawing up the Supplement to Veitch's Memoirs.

The Memoirs of George Brysson are printed from a MS. belonging to Mr. Robert Whyte, Edinburgh, who is married to a lineal descendant of the author. As the preceding article includes a curious account of the escape of the Earl of Argyle after his condemnation, so the reader will find in this article a no less interesting account of the expedition which issued in the capture and execution of that public-spirited but unfortunate nobleman. To make the account of this expedition more complete, I have introduced distinctly, in the form of extract and of abridgement, such parts of Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative as state facts which did not fall under the personal observation of Brysson, or which he has omitted.

Colonel Wallace's Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Pentland is taken from a MS. in the College Library of Edinburgh, which is rather

strangely entitled " Rump Parliament," but which contains a history of the affairs of Scotland, chiefly ecclesiastical, from the year 1659 to 1675. It is evident that Mr. Kirkton had consulted it, when he composed his History; but a narrative of that affair, drawn up by the individual who commanded the Presbyterian forces, appeared to me to merit publication.

The collection is closed with a Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Bothwel Bridge, written by James Ure of Shargarton, a gentleman who acted a prominent part on that occasion. It is preserved in the Advocates Library, and may be viewed as an appropriate accompaniment to the preceding narrative. The circumstance of its having been composed by one who took the moderate side in the disputes which divided those who had recourse to arms at this time, was an additional inducement to publish it; as all the separate accounts of this affair already before the public, were written by persons attached to the opposite party.

Biographical notices of the writers of the two last articles are prefixed to their respective narratives. The object proposed in the notes was to illustrate the text, not to indulge in reflections on the facts which it details. In collecting mate-

rials for these, I derived much assistance from Mr. Meek, on whose accuracy in making extracts I could always rely, and who often discovered facts additional to those which he was instructed to search for.

Some may be of opinion that unnecessary pains has been taken in the editing of the work; but having undertaken to superintend the publication of these memorials, and considering them to be valuable, I reckoned it incumbent on me to do them as much justice as possible. With a little more labour a connected history of the period might have been produced, but I am persuaded that no account which I could draw up would present so graphic a picture of the men and measures of that time, as is exhibited in the following historical pieces. The reader has an opportunity of listening to persons who describe scenes which they witnessed, and in which they bore a part, more or less distinguished. Agreeing in their religious and political sentiments, they were placed in very different situations: one of them being an ecclesiastic, another a military man, a third a private gentleman, and a fourth a farmer and a merchant at different periods of his life. Their style of writing is of course various; but all the

narratives have that pleasing character which marks the compositions of men who write on a subject with which they are familiarly acquainted, and in which they feel a deep interest. Brysson's Memoir is by far the best written of the whole; and, indeed, it appears to me to be a masterpiece of the kind, for unaffected simplicity and the natural picturesque in historical description.

In the Appendix some papers are inserted which do not bear a very intimate relation to the narratives in the preceding part of the work, but which I thought worthy of being brought to light. Of this kind are the letters which contain a notification of the seizure of the registers of the Church of Scotland, and which give an account of the printing of Calderwood's History. It appears from these documents that the last-mentioned work, though in a form much more contracted than that in which it was originally compiled, was exactly printed from a manuscript which the author himself had carefully prepared for the press; and, consequently, it can no longer be viewed either as of doubtful authority or as an abridgement made by a different hand.

EDINBURGH, 16*th May*, 1825.

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MEMOIRS

OF

MR. WILLIAM VEITCH,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL,

CONTAINING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS EXTRACTION AND RELATIONS; AND OF SEVERAL REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES, AND SINGULAR DELIVERANCES, HE WAS TRYSTED WITH IN SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, AND HOLLAND, WHERE HE TRAVELLED AND PREACHED TWENTY-TWO YEARS, BEING FORFEITED LIFE AND FORTUNE; ALSO THE TIME HE PREACHED IN WHITTON MEETING-HOUSE NEAR KELSO THREE YEARS, IN THE TIME OF KING JAMES HIS LIBERTY; AFTER THAT SETTLED FOUR YEARS IN PEEBLES; AND THEN MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AT DUMFRIES: IN ALL ABOVE FIFTY YEARS.

Psal. lxvi. 16. "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul."

Psal. cxvi. 8. "He hath delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling."

Psal. lvi. 8. "Thou tellest all my wanderings, put my tears in thy bottle; are they not in thy book?"

Psal. lvii. 1. "Yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast."

Psal. xxxii. 7. "Thou art my hiding-place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou wilt compass me about with songs of deliverance."

Psal. lxxvii. 10. "I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High." Ver. 11. "I will remember the works of the Lord; surely I will remember thy wonders of old."

Psal. xlii. 6. "O my God, my soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar."—*The Land of Jordan is the Scotch and English ground on both sides of the Tweed: The Hermonites are the Reidsdalites: Mizar is the Carter, where I hardly escaped the enemies' search.*

MEMOIRS

OF

MR. WILLIAM VEITCH.

Mr. Veitch was born at Roberton, in the shire of Clydesdale, seven miles from Lanark, and in that presbytery, in the year of our Lord 1640, April 27. He was the youngest child of Mr. John Veitch,* minister of that place for the space of about forty-five years. His mother was a pious and frugal woman, very dexterous in housekeeping and educating of children; which her husband knew little of as to family affairs. Her name was Elizabeth Johnston, a merchant's daughter in Glasgow.

He (Mr. John Veitch) had many sons, three whereof were ministers, and of no mean repute in this church, viz. Mr. John Veitch was minister

* Mr. John Veitch, the father, was ejected from his parish, and in September 1664 was residing at Lanark. In 1671 he was still alive; for in that year, October 6, we find a retour—Mr. John Veitch, late minister at Robertoun, heir of Mr. David Veitch, schoolmaster at Salton, his brother. (Inquis. Retorn. Gen. 5464.)

of Westruther, in the shire of Berwick, above fifty-four years. He died at Dalkeith, the day of in the year , as he was returning home from attending the commission of the Kirk;* and is buried there among his ancestors, who had a considerable estate in and about that town for a hundred years together; and his eldest brother Robert Veitch sold the last of it, and lies there himself: the one of them was eighty-four and the other eighty-five years when they died. On Oct. 4, 1685, by order from Chancellor Perth, Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruther, was taken, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh, by Sir Adam Blair of Carberry, younger; and lay all night in the guard keeped at Holyroodhouse. Oct. 5, 1685. He was sent to the tolbooth in a most unusual manner; made close prisoner, his keeper sworn neither to carry any word to him, nor take out any from him, nor suffer any to speak to him; and, in his absence, lest any should speak in at the door to him, or he to them, two soldiers constantly guarded his door: pen and ink were taken from him. In this case he continued for the space of twenty weeks, till January 16, 1686.†

* "Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruther, died at Dalkeith, going home from the Commission, Dec. 1703, I think." (MS. note on Mr. William Veitch's family Bible.)

† There must be some oversight here. It is not twenty weeks from October 4, 1685, to January 16, 1686. From the King's letter of the 17th October to the Council, (Wodrow ii. 577,) it is evident

This was found marked with his own hand among his papers. *

that his examination was on or before 21st September 1685. Perhaps October in Veitch, is an erratum for September. The same error is committed by Wodrow, ii. p. 577. Fountainhall has the following notice concerning him, October 24, 1685:—"J. Veitch falling sick, and supplicating for a physician, they would allow none to go in to him but the apostate Doctor Sibbald, which was looked on by some as strange." (Decis. i. 371.) The Doctor here referred to, is the well-known Sir Robert Sibbald, who had turned Papist.

* Wodrow has inserted a letter from the council to the King, (September 21, 1685,) giving an account of their having examined Spence and Mr. John Veitch, on some surmises thrown out by Sir John Cochran and his son, affecting the Earl of Murray and the Lord Register, as to alleged correspondence with Lord Melvil, and some malversations of the Lord Advocate. The King, by a letter of the 17th October, rebukes them severely for interfering with the Chancellor's prisoner, (J. Veitch,) and "admires by what persuasion" they could have been induced so to do. The council reply on the 25th, stating more precisely what they did with regard to Veitch, and adding, "One of the chief motives that induced us to believe that we might examine him, was, that my Lord Chancellor's order did not expressly bear that no person or judicature should examine him, which, if it had been, we would have had that just deference to my Lord Chancellor's order, as not to have examined him; but the order bearing only, that no person should speak with or see him, we only considered Veitch to be in the condition of other close prisoners, whom the council uses to examine. But whatever the practice has been, it is sufficient for us that your Majesty has excluded all examination in such cases for the future, which we shall humbly and heartily obey. And to show that no interest of ours did or shall induce us to believe, that your Majesty, by yourself or your order, may not examine any person whatsoever, either as to us or your Majesty's servants, we again renew the acknowledgement in our former letter, that informations are to be received against the best of servants; and we may be the safer in this acknowledgement, that we are so happy as to live under a prince who will protect the innocence of his approved servants." (Wod. ii. 576, 577, 578.)

Another son of his was Mr. James, who, after he had been seven years a regent in the col-

It would appear that Mr. John Veitch had been prosecuted, if not imprisoned, more than once. Wodrow says, he was summoned before the council, October 5, 1680, for preaching without licence at Anstruther, probably Westruther. Not compearing, he was denounced, and put to the horn. "We shall afterwards hear that he was taken and kept close prisoner at Edinburgh about a year's time, under no small hardships. He was allowed neither candle nor fire the whole time; his wife was never allowed to speak to him, but in the presence of two or three soldiers. He pressed much to be brought to a trial, but that could not be allowed. The reason of this cruel and unchristian treatment was, that when the curate died, at the invitation of the people, he returned and preached to his own people from whom he had been violently thrust away." (Wod. ii. 128.)

Though his name does not appear in Wodrow's lists of indulged ministers, both that historian and Fountainhall speak of him as indulged. "August 2, 1683, seven of the indulged ministers being pannelled for breaking their instructions, in preaching without their bounds, or against the test; five of them were continued under caution to the 1st of December next; and the other two, viz. Mr. John Veitch, once at Wester-Anstruther, (Westruther,) and Mr. Antony Shaw, were incarcerate, because their guilt seemed greater than that of the rest." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 236-7.) December 10, "Mr. Veitch's diet is deserted, on caution that he compear when called." (Wod. ii. 307.)

"In 1684, at the circuit court held by Balcarras, Yester, and Drummelzier, for Berwick, Roxburgh, &c. at Jedburgh, October 10th, on application made by George Veitch, writer in Edinburgh, the Lords repone Mr. John Veitch at Westruther, against the sentence past at Dunse upon absents, his absence being owing to infirmity, on the said George giving bond of 5000 merks for his father's compearing when called. In the abstract of their proceedings, they state that Mr. James Fletcher at Nenthorne was the only indulged minister within their district. (Public Papers.) If Mr. Veitch, therefore, had been formerly indulged, his indulgence must have been withdrawn; probably in 1683. (Wod. ii. 307.) The above-

lege of Glasgow, was called to be minister in Mauchlin, in the shire of Ayr, about the year 1656, and was turned out by the prelates and parliament that set up prelacy, anno 1662; he being one of the seven leading ministers in the west, that the parliament took to task to see if they could bring them into a compliance with that new government; which, if they could have done, might be a mean, as they apprehended, to make the other ministers that were outed of their kirks to comply also.* The ministers' names

mentioned sentence at Dunse, in his absence, may have been on some charge of irregularity; or, if an heritor, the court, by their instructions, could punish him for absence from the King's host. The distinction, suggested in the following quotation, between *connivance* and *indulgence*, may perhaps explain what appears obscure in the above statement. In a cause of a nonjurant minister claiming his teinds, Feb. 16, 1694, "The Lords compared the late act with the 3d act 1662, depriving the Presbyterian ministers; the one (the act 1662) inflicted it *ipso jure*, and the other *ipso facto*; and it was *alleged*, that such Presbyterian ministers as continued to preach by connivance, contrary to the law, got their stipends, as was found in 1664, in the case of Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruthers." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 609.) Possibly the subject of this note is the person intended in a retour recorded 2d April 1824, Christie patri. Among other lands of the barony of Bassendean, referred to, is the five merk land of Bassendean "acquisit. a Joanne Edgar de Wedderlie, et Mro. Joanne Veitch, evangelii ministro apud Woolstruther," &c. within the parish of Woolstruther and shire of Berwick. The date of the purchase is not given.

* In March 1669, we find Mr. James Veitch in a list of eleven ministers, who, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, were cited to attend a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen at Ayr, for preaching and baptizing irregularly. The officer, a Major

that were thus staged before the parliament with my brother, were, Mr. John Carstairs, minister of Glasgow; Mr. James Nasmyth, minister of Ha-

Cockburn, employed to cite them, not only obliged them to give bond for their compearance, but turned some of them with their families out of doors at twenty-four hours warning. Two of them, Veitch and Mr. Blair of Galston, were allowed 300 merks each for damages; so sensible were the council of the injustice done them. The council's procedure, and Mr. Fullerton's speech in name of the whole, are given in Wodrow. (Hist. i. 298, &c.) It is somewhat curious, that this matter was issued on the very day, (April 8,) that the council ordered a proclamation against conventicles in the shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, making heritors liable to a fine of £50 sterling for every such meeting held on their property; and in the printed copies, it is said, a clause was added, for fining tenants on whose bounds they were held in £100 Scots. (Wod. i. 300.) When the indulgence was resorted to, James Veitch was appointed to Mauchlin, his former charge. (Ibid. i. 307.) In 1675, he, with Mr. John Gemble, confined to Symington, and Mr. Hugh Campbell, confined to Muirkirk, are summoned for exercising their office beyond their own parishes, appointing a fast, and ordaining young men. Wodrow gives the letters and summons at length, (Hist. i. 399, 400,) but supposes the prosecution had been let fall through the interest of Lord Stair, whom we afterwards find to be a friend to our Veitch. Nov. 3, 1681, he, together with Messrs. John Hutchinson at Dundonald, and Robert Miller at Ochiltree, is libelled before the council for excommunicating (debarring from the sacrament) such as deserted or disowned the covenant by taking the bond of peace; and not compearing, he is denounced. On the 24th of November he compeared, and petitioned to be reponed; but was served with an additional libel, further charging him with taking parents obliged, at the baptism of their children, to educate them conform to the National and Solemn League and Covenants; and with not only breaking his confinement, but keeping classical meetings for discipline and ordination. The Advocate referred all to his oath. Mr. Veitch denied all the articles of the libels

milton; Mr. Alexander Blair, Minister of Galston; Mr. Matthew Mowat, and Mr. James Rewat, ministers of Kilmarnock; and Mr. Wil-

"as they stand libelled," and no probation being ready, he was assoilyied. (Wod. ii. 176.)

On the 2d of August 1683, we find him one of the seven mentioned in a former note, (p. 6,) the others being his brother John, Messrs. Robert Miller at Ochiltree, John Campbell, Antony Schaw, Robert Boyd, and William Baily of Hardington. They had been inserted in the Porteous rolls, and remitted by the circuit to Edinburgh, and indicted on the charges contained in the Porteous rolls. Mr. James Veitch and other four have their diet continued. On December 19, he and Mr. John Campbell were remitted to the council, and found caution for their compearance. They compear on 3d January 1684, and are charged with the breach of their confinement, and the probation is remitted to their oath. They confessed this charge; and also that they had prayed and exercised in private families; and that they had not read the proclamation for the thanksgiving. The council declare their licence void, and appoint them to go to prison, or find caution, under five thousand merks, either to go forth of the kingdom against the first of March next, or to attend the curates, and not exercise their ministry. (Wod. ii. 307, 351.) Mr. Veitch accordingly went into banishment, to his brother's, at Stanton Hall, in Northumberland, whence both of them retired to Holland, as will appear from the sequel of the memoir. During his residence there, "he continued under some trouble from Robert Hamilton and his party, but increasing in learning and grace till the toleration, he returned to his charge at Mauchlin." (Wod. ii. 351.) It would appear, that he had been in Rotterdam soon after the rising at Bothwel. Mr. Robert Fleming "was settled minister in the Scots Congregation in Rotterdam. He invited Mr. James Veitch, one of our Scots actually indulged, to preach with him, who was there occasionally." M'Ward, Thomas Douglas, Walter Smith, and others, heard and conversed with him, on which account Robert Hamilton and Mr. Bogue withdrew from them. See the facts stated at large in Walker's Remarkable Passages, p. 99, 102.

From a letter of Mr. John Dickson to Mr. M'Ward, 1679, it ap-

liam Adair, minister of Ayr;* all men of great

pears that Messrs. James Veitch, Robert Millar, and John Baird, were appointed by their brethren to answer the arguments brought by the ministers in Holland against hearing the indulged. (Wodrow MSS. LIX. art. 106.)

* Wodrow gives the proceedings with these ministers. (Hist. i. p. 132, &c.) On the 16th of September 1662, the affair was issued by an act of Council, ejecting them from their churches; prohibiting them from residing in Glasgow or Edinburgh, or within the Presbyteries where their said churches lie, and declaring that they have no right to the stipend for the current year.

Mr. James Nasmyth had in 1660 been before the Committee of Estates, for words alleged to have been spoken by him in 1650, when pressing his hearers, of whom the English general, Lambert, was one, "to employ their power for God, and not in opposition to the Gospel; otherwise they might expect to be brought down by the judgment of God, *as those who went before were.*" He was imprisoned, and for several months kept from his charge; (Wod. i. 12.) and now by the oath of supremacy, was removed from Hamilton, to make way for Mr. James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow. In 1670, when the ministers in the west, indulged and non-indulged, met with Bishop Leighton and his friends, Messrs. Adair and Nasmyth are found taking an active part. (Wod. i. 337.) Mr. Nasmyth is included in the indulgence 1672, and confined to Glasford. (Wod. i. app. p. 138.) That he accepted it with a protestation before the people, appears from the Grievances of the diocese of Glasgow to the Parliament, which state, that "generally, not only conventiclers, but indulged ministers, preach sedition, and pray to the same purpose; and, in their apologies at their entry, avow publicly that they owe neither to the King nor his Council their entry to their charges; as, Mr. Nasmyth at Glasford, Mr. Stirling at Kilbarchan, Mr. Wallace at Largs, and others." (Wod. i. 380.)

Mr. Alexander Blair, minister at Galston, was, in 1669, indulged to his own charge. (Wod. i. 307.) In 1673, when the Council furnished each of the indulged ministers with a copy of instructions, limiting them in the exercise of their ministry, Mr. Blair said,—"My Lord Chancellor, I cannot be so uncivil as to

worth. They were all put in prison except Mr. William Adair;* for whom Sir Archibald Primrose, then Clerk Register, and a witty man and great politician, who had a great hand in the new government, interposed, and got him off. The rest were kept so close that their wives and nearest relations had no access to them.

After several appearances before the parliament, the oath of allegiance was tendered unto them; which, under that name, had the oath of su-

refuse a paper offered me by your Lordships, but I can receive no instructions from you for regulating the exercise of my ministry; for if I should receive instructions from you, I should be your ambassador." For this he was committed close prisoner. A petition which he presented to the Council for liberation, was rejected. Having sickened in the end of the year, he was permitted to go to a private house in Edinburgh, on a bond of five thousand merks, that he shall re-enter in a month, and not keep conventicles; and in the month of January following, "this excellent person died, in much joy and full assurance of faith." (Ibid. i. 358.) In the Wodrow manuscripts are three different copies of verses to his memory.

* We hear little of *Mr. Adair*. In Wodrow's list of nonconforming ministers, he is marked as confined to his parish. He is not in any list of the indulged; but is explicitly denominated an indulged minister, in an act of the Committee of Council at Ayr, 22d February 1678, denouncing John Muir, late provost of Ayr, which will be found in the Appendix. It would appear, however, that Primrose's interest failed to protect him; for he had been for some time previous to his death prohibited from preaching.—"February 11, 1684, dies Mr. William Adair, the old minister at Air, who was laid aside a little time before for not taking the test, and Mr. John Stirling, indulged to Irwine, both worthy men in the ministry." (Law's Memorialls, p. 260.)

premacy intermixed. The ministers desired a day to give their answer, and sent word to Mr. Adair, who was yet in town, to see if he would join with them in subscribing their answer; which was an explication of these oaths that were mixed, and contained certain conditions upon which they were willing to take it; but he took his horse and went home, and did not stay to join with them. Their answers were not pleasing to the parliament, and some of their speeches did highly offend them; for which they were more severely treated.

But it happened that Mr. William Veitch, being then governor to young Greenhead, at the College of Edinburgh, through the interest he had in Middleton's page, who was then Commissioner, preferred a petition to his Grace, that he would give him liberty to see to the accommodation and provision of these ministers in prison, whereof his brother was one. This petition was granted through the moyen of his servant, and Mr. William's fair promises, that he would endeavour, both by himself and others that he should introduce to them, to convince them of their errors, if they were in any, and reduce them to right: to which Middleton replied, "Quod si facias, eris mihi magnus Apollo." Some weeks after he went back to his Grace according to order, and condoled their obstinacy; and begged once more of his Grace, that he would give them liberty of seven

miles about, to see if the free air, and a freer prison, might bring them into a better temper; so that the parliament gradually overlooked them, and let them fall under the six mile act.

Among others that Mr. Veitch introduced, the famous Mr. Wood, Professor in St. Andrews, was one, to see Mr. Carstairs, his brother-in-law,* &c.; but the Parliament being to sit, he desired Mr. Veitch his company, at ten o'clock, to James Glen's shop, to see Sharp, whom he had never seen since he turned bishop. He came up in the commissioner's coach, and coming first out, turned to receive the commissioner with his hat off; so we had a full sight of his face, to which Mr. Wood looked very seriously, as being much affected, and said these words in my hearing, and others in the shop, "O thou Judas, and apostatized traitor, that hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian church of Scotland to its total ruin, as far as thou canst! if I know any thing of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though it was spoken about eighteen years before, yet it is well known that it was exactly accomplished anno 1679.

A third son of the foresaid Mr. John Veitch

* An interesting account of the testimony which Mr. Wood gave in favour of Presbytery on his death-bed, is contained in a letter from Mr. Carstairs, his brother-in-law, to the Chancellor. (See Appendix.)

was Mr. David, who was minister about four or five years at Govan, near Glasgow ; one to whom the great Mr. Rutherford gave that testimony to the presbytery of Biggar, when he passed his trials, (not being suffered to do it in St. Andrews, because he was a protester,*) that the like of Mr. David Veitch, in his age, for great learning and piety he had never known. He died about the twenty-fifth year of his age, being cotemporary and co-presbyter with the famous Mr. Durham, who foretold his death. The occasion of it was this :

Mr. Durham being several months confined to his chamber by sickness, before he died, the magistrates of Glasgow and some of the ministers at that time being for the public resolutions, the better party, called the protesters, were afraid that

* The Scotish parliament had passed some acts, particularly the act of classes, for excluding from places of trust, civil and military, persons who had manifested a malignant opposition to the religion and liberties of the nation. After the defeat of the Scotish army by Cromwell at Dunbar and Hamilton, the Court, in the end of 1650 and beginning of 1651, put two queries to the Commission of the General Assembly, with reference to the admission of malignants. The Commission's answers, otherwise called *the public resolutions,* were favourable to the views of the Court, and the act of classes was repealed. The resolutions, and subsequent procedure of the Commission and General Assembly, were *protested* against by a considerable number of ministers and elders. This gave rise to a division between the *Resolutioners* and *Protesters,* (as they were called) which, though accommodated, was not completely healed when the Restoration took place. The protesters, being the stricter Presbyterians, were most obnoxious to the restored government.

the magistrates and they, after Mr. Durham's death, would put a public resolutioner in his place: therefore they contrive the matter so as to get a commission subscribed by both parties, for Mr. Durham's nominating his own successor. The reverend and singularly pious Mr. John Carstairs,* being both his brother-in-law and col-

* Mr. John Carstairs, father of Principal Carstairs, was married to Janet, and Mr. Durham to Margaret Mure, (widow of Mr. Zachary Boyd,) daughters of William Mure of Glanderston. (Crawford's History of Renfrewshire, p. 40, 41.) An account of his citations and appearances before the Privy Council may be seen in Wodrow's History, (i. 209, 315, 348; ii. 155.) In 1666 he was, in opposition to his own judgment, induced to accompany the party of Caldwell, Kersland, &c. who intended to join the insurgents at Pentland, but were prevented. (Kirkton, 246.) In July 1681, the Earl of Rothes, being on his deathbed, "appeared concerned upon views of eternity; and the Rev. Mr. John Carstairs, upon his desire, waited upon him, and prayed with him, the Duke of Hamilton, and many others of his noble relations, being present; and few were present without being affected very sensibly. When the Duke of York heard that Presbyterian ministers had been with the Chancellor, he is said to have had this expression, 'that all Scotland were either Presbyterian through their life, or at their death, profess what they would.'" (Wod. ii. 222.) From an interesting letter by Mr. Carstairs to the Secretary of State, Nov. 3, 1684, it appears that he was born on the 6th of January 1623. (See Appendix.) Wodrow thinks he did not long survive the date of this letter, which is rendered very probable by the postscript to a preface of his to Durham's Sermons, entitled, The Unsearchable Riches of Christ: "I heartily wish that this mite of service may be acceptable to the saints, it being not improbable that it may be the last service of this kind that I shall have access to do them. Feb. 4, 1685." He had performed various services of this kind, besides the one now mentioned; in prefacing Durham's Lectures

league in the ministry in the inner kirk of Glasgow, intimates to him one day while visiting, how desirous he was to know whom he intended

on the Revelations in 1658; and his Sermons on Isaiah liii. in 1682, with a Dedicatory Epistle to the Earl of Crawford. The preface to Calderwood's printed History is mentioned as written by him in his correspondence with M'Ward, preserved among the Wodrow manuscripts. His Letters show the deep interest he took in that history, and the exertions made by him and Mr. Wylie to obtain the manuscript. Some of the letters relating to this work, and to the Records of the Church, will be inserted in the Appendix. We find also, in the same correspondence, some long papers between Carstairs and Frazer of Brae, respecting some peculiar doctrinal notions entertained by the latter. In 1677, Carstairs declined an invitation to become pastor of the congregation at Rotterdam, and proposed, first, Mr. Kirkton, and afterwards Mr. Fleming, the last of whom accepted the charge. In the debates on occasion of the indulgence, he was anxious to preserve peace between the two parties.

What follows is contained in a MS. preserved in the Advocates Library:—"The last words of Mr. John Carstairs, sometime minister of the Gospel at Glasgow, as they were taken from his own mouth when a-dying, anno 1685 or 1686, by Mr. William Crighton, sometime minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.

"Being asked how it was with him, he answered, that he had laid aside all his duties and all his performances whatsoever; and that he had betaken himself to the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and rested thereon; and that thereby he concluded that within a little he should be as well and much better than ever in the best frame of soul he was in, being made holy as God is holy, and knowing him as he was known of him. Being asked as to the public matters of God and the times, he said, that it was a very great depth; but if I be not far mistaken of the word and ways of God, the heart of God is not towards these men; and that notwithstanding of all their successes and prevailings of a long time against the people and work of God. He was persuaded *tandem bona*

for his successor, seeing he was to be his colleague after his death; the power being now in his hand to choose whom he pleased. After some scruple to tell him so soon, lest it should come to the person's ears, and his promise to conceal it from all persons, he told him that Mr. David Veitch was the man he purposed to nominate, but not until he was near death; thinking that then it would have the more weight with him. To which Mr. Carstairs cordially assented, saying, that was the man he himself would have chosen. But when a-dying, having called some of the magistrates, ministers, and elders of the place, he named other three ministers, for them to choose any of these they pleased. This alteration so surprised Mr. Carstairs, that he could not satisfy

causa triumphabit. He exhorted all his friends to walk humbly with God, to lay on the dust before him, to wait patiently on him, and to shun all manner of compliance with this generation; the sooner, the better; the straiter, the better; the more universal, the better. For himself he blessed the Lord, that he had in some measure preserved him; for God had made him many a time willing to have laid his head upon the block, if so be God had called him thereunto. He said he blessed the Lord, he had these twenty or thirty years no challenges for any mints he had made at the service of the Lord in the gospel; but he had many for his shortcomings therein. He left his children and family on God, who had given him them, and would be their portion. If it were possible that Christ and his interest in the world could ruine, I had much rather ruine and fall with him, (said he) than stand with any or all the powers in the world; but as I am persuaded that these cannot perish, so I am confident in the Lord these shall revive in all the churches of Christ." (MS. xxxiii. Jac. I. 25, art. 119.)

himself till he had inquired the reason after the rest were gone, to which Mr. Durham gave this reply, " O brother! Mr. David Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be transported to any church on earth: he will be there almost as soon as I." This I had from Mr. Carstairs's own mouth, and it proved so. For this being spoken on Wednesday's night, Mr. Durham died on Friday at three of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Veitch preached next Sabbath, (knowing nothing of this prediction,) wherein he told his people, in the afternoon, it would be the last sermon that ever he would preach to them; and, going to his sick-bed that night, he died the next Friday, at the same hour in the morning that Mr. Durham died;* as good Dr. Rattray, who was witness to both their deaths, did declare.†

* This account is confirmed by the testimony of the writer of Mr. Durham's Life, prefixed to his Commentary on the Revelation. —Durham died on Friday the 25th of June, 1658. Mr. David Veitch's death will therefore fall on the first of July that year. On August 5, 1662, Alexander Veitch is served heir of his brother, David Veitch, minister of God's word, at the church of Goveane. (Inquis. Retorn. Gen. 4608.)

† Doctor Silvester Rattray, a physician of some eminence at that time, being called before the episcopal clergy of Glasgow, for employing a presbyterian minister to baptize one of his children, gave in the following declaration; which is a specimen of the way in which many of the same persuasion reconciled themselves at that period, to continuance in the communion of the established church.—" I declare unto you, Sir, before this meeting, that really I am of the Presbyterian persuasion and judgment; and that, not only because I was bred and brought up under it, but also being

Mr. William being laureate at Glasgow, anno 1659, was called to Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead's family the year after,* where he resolved in his spare hours to read physic books, thinking to betake himself to that study, having so many brethren already in the function of the ministry; and especially now when episcopacy was like to be settled in the kingdom. But the great Mr. John Livingston, minister at Ancrum, who frequented

convinced by clear evidence from Scripture, that it is the only government Christ and his apostles did leave behind them, whereby the church should be ruled to the end of the world: as also, because of the many obligations, ties, and vows yet recent upon my spirit for adhering unto it: as also, I am convinced that Prelacy is an human invention, which derives its rise only from some antiquated customs in the church. And albeit the Lord, in his holy and sovereign providence, hath suffered this hedge of Presbytery to be broken down, wherein ye have borne deep shares to your power, I do declare that I will not separate from the church of God, but will participate of the ordinances so long as they remain pure among us, only with this proviso, that this my participating of the ordinances do not infer my approving any unlawful or unwarrantable practice in you, or any other of the dispensers of the ordinances. Doctor S. RATTRAY." (Wodrow, i. p. 189.)

* Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead married, in 1634, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Scot of Harden. (Douglas Baronage, p. 215.) In 1662, he was fined in L.6000. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 424.) In 1664, he married Lady Catharine, fifth daughter of the first Earl of Wemyss. He died in 1665, and his widow in 1668. (Douglas Peerage, vol. ii. p. 621. Wood's edit.) On September 10, 1684, the Committee for Public Affairs report to the Council, "that the Lady Graden is fined by the Sheriff of Teviotdale in twenty-six thousand and odd pounds, the Lady Greenhead in sixteen thousand and odd pounds. The Committee find reason to sist execution as to her, and the Council approve." (Wod. ii. 363.)

that house, (as did other godly ministers,) with many arguments and much earnestness, dissuaded him from it, and exhorted him to follow the footsteps of his worthy brethren, who were in so great estimation in the church.

This happened a little before the setting up of prelacy by act of Parliament, anno 1662, which, when it was erected, not only ministers were turned out that did not comply with the government, but all chaplains and pedagogues, and he among the first, by the instigation of Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, about the beginning of the year 1663, in which summer he went into Murrayland, to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder's family,* who was

* Feb. 6, 1662, Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder was served heir to his cousin-german, Colin Campbell. He was heritable sheriff of Nairnshire, (Inquis. Retor. Nairn. 25,) and was very friendly to the persecuted party. His name appears in the list of persons fined in 1662 for the sum of L.12,000 Scots. (Wod. i. App. 61.) His engagements as cautioner for ministers amounted to upwards of L.1700 sterling. Frazer of Brae had been cited for a field conventicle; but being in the north, and afflicted with an ague, Campbell, who was his surety, proposed to him to write the council to put off his appearance. Frazer assured him they would press it the more, in hope of forfeiting the bond. Campbell however wrote himself; and the consequence was, that the citation was renewed, requiring his appearance on Dec. 22, 1681. On that day however, in spite of all hazards, Frazer, to save his surety, presented himself, and Campbell was relieved. (Wod. ii. 98, 177, 178.) Mr. John M'Gilligen of Alness, minister of Fottertie, being apprehended, Oct. 1676, and sent into Nairnshire, Campbell kept him in his house as a prisoner, and employed him as his chaplain. The Council summoned the sheriff before them, and reprimanded the

lately married to Lady Henrietta Stewart, sister to the Earl of Murray, to officiate as chaplain, thinking he might do some service to that new-erected family, being far north, and at a considerable distance from the court. To this undertaking he was earnestly solicited by the Lord Brodie (a gentleman of great piety and worth, and uncle to the said knight *) and the reverend Mr.

Earl of Seaforth for encouraging his lenity. (Ibid. i. 425, 426, 442.) Jan. 11, 1683.—"At privy council, Campbell of Caddell is called as cautioner, for producing one Mackillican, a nonconformist minister; and they thought to have gotten his bond forfeited; but he had the man ready to sist. They remembered Caddell's opposing the Duke's interest in the Parliament 1681," (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. p. 206.)—November 8th, 1683.—"Campbell of Caddell is called as cautioner for Mr. Thomas Hogg, a nonconformist minister; he produces him to the council." (Ibid. i. 241.)

* Alexander Brodie of that ilk was member for Elginshire in the Convention of Estates which met in June 1643; and during its sitting, and in subsequent parliaments, we frequently find his name on committees. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 13, 68.) He was one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament to go to the Hague in 1649, and to Breda in 1650, to invite Charles II. into Scotland on certain conditions. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 400, 451, 452, 513, 537.) In consequence of the Act of Classes, 23d January 1649, for reforming the judicatories, &c. a number of the judges were removed, and on June 26, 1649, "the laird of Brodie is nominate to be one of the senators of the Colledge of Justice." (Ibid. 465, 485.) On the invasion of the English, he seems to have been unemployed for some time, but was re-appointed to the bench in December 1657; Warriston having been appointed in the preceding month. (Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 11.) In Middleton's Parliament, he was fined in L.4800 Scots. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 424.)

James Kirkton; but after thirteen months stay there, Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie, then bishop of Murrayland, sent Mr. Colin Falconer of Forres, and Mr. William Falconer, minister of Dyke, to confer with him; but his answer no way pleased the bishop, so he was forced to leave that place about September 1664.

In this cloudy season of the church, wherein presbytery was overturned, and the godly ministry, with the pedagogues and chaplains that owned that government, were most part turned out of their offices, the father of the said Mr. William being removed from his church at Roberton and dwelling at Lanark, called him in this solitude to stay some time with him, where, falling in acquaintance with the godly families of the place, he was induced to match with a young virgin in that town called Marion Fairly; who proved a wife of eminent piety, as several instances after narrated, and a manuscript of her own,* would testify, which I once did see; and it contains as strange actings of faith upon the word of God, answers of prayer, and revelations of the mind of God, as peradventure the age she lived in can parallel; and that both with respect to the public work of God, and also her husband and family's case, under their long and great sufferings, will abundantly evince. Her father was descended of that ancient

* This is the manuscript mentioned in the Preface.

family of the Fairlies, of the house of Braid, near Edinburgh, and a friend of the Lord Lee's first lady, who was of that house and name.

Being married anno 1664, November 23, and having lived together near two years, he was prevailed with by Mr. John Welsh, minister of Irongray,* and others, who came to his house at the Westhills of Dunsyre, to join with that party who were so oppressed by the inhuman cruelties and excessive robberies of Sir James Turner, and the forces he commanded, lying at Dumfries, for their non-compliance with abjured prelacy; so that they were necessitated to endea-

* Messrs. Welsh, Blackader, &c. were at Edinburgh when the rising took place in 1666. At a meeting at Mr. Alexander Robertson's chamber, Ferguson of Kaittoch hesitated, the rest were clear to assist their brethren. Among these were Colonel Wallace, Mr. Welsh, and Mr. Robertson, who appear to have gone off immediately. Blackader and others had got their accoutrements sent out of the town; but ere they could go themselves, they learned the hopeless state of their friends. Welsh appears to have taken Mr. Veitch's house in his way. (Kirkton, p. 234. Blackader, Mem. p. 141.)

According to Blacader's account, Mr. Robison was in Dumfries at the seizing of Turner. (Crichton's Mem. of Blackader, p. 138.) In all probability, he had come from the Westland men, for the purpose of procuring the assistance of friends at Edinburgh. In his way to the town, he could pass through Libberton, and thus be in case to promise Colonel Wallace 40 horsemen, a promise which failed. (Kirkton's Hist. p. 234.) After they had assembled, and were come to Muirkirk, Andrew Macormoch informed Colonel Wallace that it was the mind of Captain Robert Lockhart and Mr. Robison, that they should break up and dismiss the people. (Kirkton, p. 236.)

vour their own relief, if possible, by taking up arms and apprehending Sir James Turner, which might put a stop to the cruel usages of that corner: and then they resolved to march to Edinburgh to represent their grievances; but were broken at Pentland Hills, near the city, by the prelatical forces, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, General Dalziel, and Major-General Drummond. And as several that were taken prisoners were executed, so those of any note that escaped were forfeited life and fortune, and that in absence; an illegal and new-invented piece of cruelty by Sir John Nisbet, the then King's Advocate; who, thinking that this wickedness might recoil upon him afterwards, got an act of Parliament to approve what was then done, and so did secure himself from any afterclap that might befall.

The Galloway forces who were commanded by one Andrew Gray and John Nelson of Corsack,*

* John Neilson of Corsack entertained Messrs. Welsh and Semple when they were outed in 1662. (Black. Mem. MS. G. 2.) He had been early in this insurrection, and, with Robison and other two, made Sir James Turner prisoner. Andrew Gray, the chief of the party, coming up and offering to shoot the prisoner, Corsack, "a meek and generous gentleman," interfered, saying, "You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters." (Crichton's Mem. of Blackader, 138, 139.) How well he deserved the above character, will appear from the following statement of his sufferings at Sir James's hand. "When Sir James Turner came first into Galloway, Corsack was soon delated by the curate

came by a surprise, and apprehended Sir James Turner at Dumfries, and immediately after march-

(Dalgleish) for nonconformity, and Sir James exacted an hundred pounds Scots from him, and, contrary to promise, he was sent prisoner to Kirkcudbright. He suffered very much by quarterings of soldiers upon him; from the beginning of March, to the end of May that year, he had troopers lying on him, sometimes ten, sometimes six, sometimes four at once, and was forced to pay each man half a crown a day, which came to eight hundred and nineteen pounds Scots, and free quarters besides to man and horse; which, moderately computing at fifteen pence a day, amounts to four hundred and eight pounds, ten shillings. Next year, Sir James Turner sent six foot soldiers to quarter upon him, from March to the middle of June. These had each of them twelve pence a day, besides free quarters, which amounts to seven hundred and fifty-six pounds. By those hardships, Corsack was obliged to leave his house, and wander up and down; and upon his hiding, he lost his horse worth an hundred pounds, and was seized himself, and imprisoned for some time. The loss of his household stuff, victual, and most part of his sheep, cannot be well reckoned. When they had turned his lady and children to the doors, they fell next upon his tenants, and obliged them to bring them in sheep, lambs, meal, and malt, till they were well nigh ruined. And last of all, they drove all his oxen and black cattle to Glasgow, and sold them. And all this for nothing else but precise nonconformity. After all this oppression, of which I have before me an attested account, the reader can scarce wonder that he, and many others in the like circumstances, took hold on the first opportunity that offered to complain of, and relieve themselves of those calamities. When essaying this, he is taken at Pentland, and, when a prisoner in Edinburgh tolbooth, Sir James Turner used his interest to get his life spared, because Corsack, out of his truly Christian temper, saved Sir James, when some were seeking to take his life, both at Dumfries and afterwards, though few had felt more of his severity than this gentleman; Mr. Dalgleish the curate, getting notice of it, applied himself to some of the bishops, and acquainted them, Corsack was a ringleader to the phanatics in

ed toward the west country, sending their messengers to the shires round about to come and assist them. And the information coming to Mr. Veitch that he would not only come himself, but bring as many as possible along with him, especially such officers, if there were any, as understood how to command. And Major Learmont living near him, a man skilful, resolute, and courageous enough, but of no great projection, he went to his house and persuaded him to join.* And so

Galloway, and if he were spared, he needed not think of continuing in his parish, and they might spare them all. This went farther than Sir James his interest could go, and so he was executed."

But his execution was not the greatest severity to which he was subjected; for, disregarding the claims which he had to gentler treatment, he was the first person whom the council put to the torture, a mode of examination which had been disused in Scotland for a great number of years. "Corsack (says Wodrow) was fearfully tormented, so that his shrieks would have melted any body but those present, who still called for the other touch." After his death, his wife and family were grievously oppressed. (Wodrow, i. 258, 259.)

* In the list of fines by Middleton's Parliament in 1662, is Joseph Learmont, Peebles-shire, L.1200. (Wodrow, i. App. xxxiii.)

"March, 1682, Major (Joseph) Learmont, an old soldier, and now about 77 years, and a taylor to his trade, who was at Pentland hills in the insurrection, 1666, and at Bothwell bridge insurrection, 1679, was taken in his own house within three miles of Lanerk, in a vault which he digged under ground, and penned for his hiding; it had its entry in his own house, upon the syde of a wall, and closed up with a whole stone, so closs as that non would have judged it but to have been a stone of the building; it descended below the foundation of the house, and was in length about 40 yards, and in the far end, the other mouth of it, was closed with faill, having a faill dyke builded upon it, so that with ease when

they with several others went westward and met the forementioned forces on the hill above Galstoun, where, after consultation, they thought fit to halt in that country for a little time till their friends should come in ; and that they might be more conveniently quartered, some of them went to Mauchline, and others to Tarbolton.

The next day they sent Mr. Veitch with forty or fifty horse to the town of Ayr to take up quarters for them ; the magistrates absconding themselves for fear of what might be the issue, he, upon information given him by some friends where one of them was lurking, did apprehend and bring him to a public house, causing him to give billets for quartering seven or eight hundred horse and foot. The forces following drew up in the citadel ; and through the great rains and coldness of the wea-

he went out he shutt out the faill, and closed it again. Here he sheltered for the space of 16 years, by taking himself to it at every alarm, and many times hath his house been searched for him by the soldiers, but where he sheltered non was privy to it but his own domestics, and at length he is discovered by his own herdsman. He is carried before the council, and examined ; confesses he was at Pentland hills, and at Bothwell bridge fight, but came only there to advise the people to accept of the Duke of Monmouth's offers he made them in the King's name." (Law's Memorialls, p. 216, 217.) He had been forfeited in absence after Pentland, and on April 8, this year, was appointed to be executed on the 28, but through interest made for him the sentence was commuted into imprisonment in the Bass. He survived the Revolution ; and soon after that happy event died in his own house of Newholm in the eighty-eighth year of his age. (Wodrow, ii. 262.)

ther, several that were not used to such hardships were like to turn valetudinary; and the worthy Mr. Hugh M'Kell had fallen off his horse if one had not laid hold of him and kept him up; and they carrying him into a house in that fainting fit, laying him in a bed, and giving him something for a cordial, by which his spirits returned, and he recovered.

After a little respite there, they marched up the water of Ayr toward Douglass, and from that to Lanark. In the mean time, General Dalziel and his forces came westward to meet them the length of Strathaven; but, hearing that the west country men were got to Lanark between them and Edinburgh, they turned their march after them. The honest party at Lanark being about fifteen hundred horse and foot, thought fit that the ministers should preach something suitably to the people, and to the present circumstances of things, both in church and state, which they did; and there both the National and Solemn League and Covenant were renewed, for spiriting and encouraging the people to this work.

The rumour of Dalziel's pursuit made them that night send spies to find out the truth of it, and which way he was intending; and coming back before day with the information of the enemy's being resolved that night for Lanark, a council was called of officers, gentlemen, and ministers, to see what was most proper to be done

in such a juncture. And it was by the generality thought most proper that they should abide at Lanark; and that because the enemy being on the other side of Clyde, and the rains having made it impassable except by boat, Dalziel and his forces could not reach them (the boat being broken) until the water decreased, which could not be very suddenly. And, if but five hundred of the western forces were sent to the place where they were to pass, would overawe them to venture upon the water. And, they being stopped there, they could not subsist without victuals and lodging twenty-four hours in such stormy weather; and therefore would be necessitated to retire back again: and this dash being given to them, it would contribute to discourage the enemy, and encourage their friends to arise for their assistance.

But a letter, I may say unhappily, coming from James Stewart (who after the Revolution was King's Advocate) to Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as possible, where they would get assistance both of men and other necessaries, made them break their former resolution, and march instantly towards Bathgate; where night coming on, and no quarters could be had for such a number, they were forced to stand with their arms without in the field. And a great snow coming on like to discourage the company, some of the officers, thinking it was better to be

marching than standing in such a posture, gave a false alarm that the enemy was approaching; and so they concluded to march to Collington, and sent one before with a party of horse to take up their quarters. Now when they came there, it was necessary to consult what was fit to be done in answer to Mr. Stewart's letter. Among the rest, Mr. Veitch was called for to give his judgment; but he, both that night and several nights before having been wet to the skin, being several nights out of bed in that service, was lain down upon the top of a bed to sleep and refresh himself, ordering his men to let nobody into the room. When their messenger came, he returned with that answer, that he could not get access to him, for he was gone to rest; with which they not being satisfied, sent him back again, and told they would do nothing until he came. In their consultation, Colonel Wallace, who commanded in chief, was for sending one of their number into the city, if it were possible, to converse with James Stewart, to see how he would make good his promise. They generally voted that Mr. Veitch should go, but he refused, being persuaded that, the measures proposed at Lanark being neglected, they had lost an opportunity put in their hand, the like whereof he could not see they would get again: and if it had not been for discouraging of them he would have left them at Lanark; and he feared that, in such a malignant

country, they would meet with a disappointment. However, Wallace told that, if Mr. Veitch would not go, he would do it himself; which made all of them urge him to a compliance, which he did. But how unreasonable and dangerous the undertaking was, you hear by what follows.*

Mr. Veitch sends for his man, orders him to bring him his baggage horse, an old hat and an old cloak; puts all off him that might give suspicion to any that should search him, as sword, pistols, &c.; and rides straight from Collington to Biggar way, that, if any should meet him going into town, he might say he came out Biggar way. Mr. Andrew M'Cormick (called afterward the goodman of the whigs) a minister in Ireland, a man of good years, and judicious, conveyed him from Collington, talking to him of several things necessary to be minded when he came to James Stewart; and then left him. Not long after, having ridden but a little in Biggar road, he met a very

* Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, it appears that Mr. James Mitchell, afterwards executed for the attempt on Sharp, having gone from Edinburgh with Colonel Wallace, did, at the desire of Captain Arnot, return to town the same night Veitch was in it. (See the Act of Privy Council of March 12, 1674; in Wodrow, Hist. i. 376.) This act contains also a statement and revocation of that assurance of his life, on the faith of which he confessed his attempt on the bishop. It is well known that, on his trial, a number of the Counsellors solemnly swore that no such assurance had ever been given. (Ibid. 515, 516.)

brisk strong-like fellow riding with a drawn sword, who asked him which way he came? He replied, he came out Biggar way. "But," says he, "did you not see all Collington on fire? I fear my house be burnt, for I hear the whigs are come there." But it was replied by Mr. Veitch that he knew nothing of it; thus they parted. This gave occasion to think what the issue of this journey was like to be.

So he went forward till he came to the ascent ere you come to the Greenhill park dyke, where three country women walking on foot met him; and asked him, "Friend, which way are you going?" He answered, carelessly, "Into the town." They tell him that, if he go by the Greenhill house into Bruntsfield Links, he is a dead man; for there the Lord Kingston, with several horse and foot under his command, are all drawn up to stop the whigs from coming into the town; praying him not to go forward. He considering the thing, and seeing a by-road upon his right hand, going down by the Grange to Libberton way, he turns into it, and, rides on in that way till he came to the Sciennes; and, seeing a sentry upon horseback drinking, with his horse's head and his own within the door, he turns from him to the right hand, and rides through by the Burrowmuir to Dalkeith way. When he came thither he met a number of colliers, who ask-

ed him whether he was going? He replied, "Into the town." Say they, "You cannot come there; for all the gates are shut up, and guards without to apprehend every person that passes." This put him to think, whether it would be more profitable and creditable to go back, or go forward. Reason and light was for going back; but credit cried, you must go forward, else lose your reputation, as a coward that durst not go forward to prosecute your commission.

Upon which he proceeded, and was taken by two sentries at the Windmiln; one of whom carried him into the Potterrow Port, when the captain of the guard searching and examining him, and finding no just ground to detain him, he desired him either to let him in at the gate, or let him go seek his lodgings in the suburbs. He replied that neither of these he could do; for he had not the key of the gate, and also he had a particular commission to send every one he apprehended to my Lord Kingston, who commanded the main-guard without the West Port: and so called a corporal with a rate of musketeers to carry him thither; which they did by the back of Heriot Work walls. The prisoner now, leading his own beast in his hand, and walking with them, thinking on his dangerous case, sent up some desires to God, that, if he had a mind to spare him and deliver him out of this danger, he would deliver him from fear, and give him presence of mind and courage;

which was mercifully granted him, so that when my Lord Kingston, who was a huffie* and hot-spirited man, examined him, he gave him very smooth and suitable answers, and such as gave him to think that he had no ground to commit him.

But, in the mean time, an alarm arises that the Whigs were all at hand; and he crying to stand to their arms, the prisoner says, "My Lord, if you have any arms to give me, I'll venture against these Whigs in the first rank." To which he replied, "Thou art an honest fellow: if there be any arms there let him have some." But the noise being quashed, the prisoner says, "Now what will your Lordship do with me?" Says he, "If I thought all ye had spoken were true, I would let you go; but I doubt of it." "Then," says he, "my Lord, if you will grant me one favour, I shall easily clear you; and that is, if you will send one with me to the dean of Edinburgh's house, viz. Mr. Robert Laurie, I shall bring a line from him to satisfy and clear your Lordship in the matter." "O," says he, "that is my friend, to whom I have as great respect as to any; but no doubt he and all his friends are fled to the castle for safety; but seeing you are a friend of his I let you go." He had not well said it, when a gentleman standing by him and looking toward

* Huffish.

the Links says, " My Lord, yonder is a prisoner coming in with our two scouts;" and he, looking that way, perceives it to be Mr. Hugh M'Kell, which made him think it was high time for him to be going; and therefore says to my Lord, " I am sensible of your Lordship's kindness to me, for your friend and my friend's sake. I desire that you would order this corporal and the musketeers that are going back to the Potterrow Port, to bid the captain there look on me now that he may know me, that his sentries, that are standing in the streets in Potterrow and Bristo, may not apprehend me and bring me back to trouble your Lordship, when I am seeking my quarters;" which the corporal did, for which he gave him a shilling. Here was a remarkable delivery; for no doubt Mr. M'Kell would have owned me instantly and innocently; so we should have died together.*

* Mr. M'Kail's sufferings are frequently adverted to in accounts of this period. The notices of them by English writers furnish us with instances of their inaccuracy on the affairs of Scotland. In the Life of Lord William Russel, by his noble descendant, (vol. i. p. 169,) M'Kail is stated to have died under the torture; a blunder copied from Burnet, which might have been corrected by looking into Wodrow.—The following extract from a manuscript in the Advocates Library, is given as containing some particulars not generally known.

" The forementioned Mr. Matthew M'Kail, then apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards Doctor of Medicine, when he heard of his cousine Mr. Hew M'Kail, his being taken, and put in prison, went to Mr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to

Then, the prisoner being liberated, he went to the end of the Potterrow, where he knew

solicit for him: the occasion of this was, the said Mr. Matthew M'Kail, was employed at London, 1657, by the said Mr. James Sharp, to write several papers, to be sent to Scotland, concerning the affairs of the church, for at that time Mr. Sharp was agenting for the publick resolutioners, against the protestors against the Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee. When Mr. Matthew spoke to him, he desired him to assure Mr. Hew that he would befriend him if he would reveal the mystery of the plot, which he not being able to do, occasioned his torture: but there was, indeed, a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirline, and Dumbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.

"Upon the Thursday thereafter, the Bishop went to St. Andrews, and Mr. Matthew followed him on Friday, but reached only to the Weems that night. After dinner he arrived at the Bishop's house on Saturday, and the servant told that the barber was triming him, and when he had done Mr. Matthew would get access. In the mean time, whilst he was walking in the outer room, the Bishop's son (about 12 years old) came, and enquired of Mr. Matthew if he came from Edinburgh, to which it was answered, yes; then he enquired for the news there, and Mr. Matthew answered there were none, but that other 4 of the west countrymen, were hanged yesterday; then the youth said "No more! it will be long before they hang them all;" and thus was verified the old proverb, as the old cock crows the young cock learns. When Mr. Matthew got access, he delivered to the Bishop one letter from the Marchioness Dowager of Douglass, in favours of Mr. Hew, whose brother Mr. Matthew was governor to her son, Lord James Douglas, and another from the Bishop's brother, Sir William Sharp, his lady; and when he had read them, he said, "The business is now in the Justiciaries hands, and I can do nothing; but however I shall have answers ready against the next morning;" at which time, when Mr. Matthew came, the bishop called his family together, prayed, and desired Mr. Matthew to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answer: then he went to the church, did

there was a widow that kept a public inn; but when he came and looked into her hall, he saw it standing full of curates, who had fled

preach, and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner he gave the answers to the letters, and Mr. Matthew said, he hoped that his travelling that day about so serious a business [would give no offence;] to which the Bishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr. Matthew went to enquire for his horse, but the stabler's family were all gone to the church, so that he could not travel till Monday morning early; and when he came to Buckhaven, the wind being easterly, the fish boats were coming into the harbour, and he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening, having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to the Archbishop (Burnet) of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who did read it, and then said, that the business was now in the Justiciaries hands. The next day being Tuesday, Mr. Hew was arraigned before the Justice Court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Friday next; and the night before, Mr. Matthew went to the executioner's, John Dunmore's house, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to meddle with Mr. Hew's clothes; and the next day the executioner did nothing, but put the rope about his neck, and a napkin about his face, and turned him off the ladder, and Mr. Matthew received him, and drew down his feet. When he was cut down, he was laid into his coffin, which Mr. Matthew had provided, and was carryed to Magdalen's Chapell; and when his grave clothes were put on, he was carryed to the Gray Friar's Church Yard, and was interred near the east dyke, a little above the stair, at the entry, being conveyed by a great company of honest men.

"It will not be amiss to insert here, that immediately after the execution of the forementioned four men, there came a letter from the king, discharging the executing of moe; but the Bishop of St. Andrews kept it up till Mr. Hew was executed, and then no moe were panelled for that business.

"The night before his execution, the said Mr. Matthew did

out of the country, to shelter themselves from the whigs, but could not get in at the ports; so he slipped off, and turned about to Bristo Street, where he lighted upon a man that was a cow-keeper and seller of milk, to whom he says, as people do sometimes, carelessly, "What confusion is this about this town to-night; I cannot get in at the port, and think I shall not get quarters without; do you know of any hereabout?" Says he, "I can give you quarters for your beast, but I have none for yourself." Says he, "That will do very well;" upon which he went to his house and gave him his beast, and a sixpence to buy draff to it all night; and so left him, for it was just growing dark. And though the house he intended to lodge in was just above him, yet he passed by it at that time to blind the man, that he might not know where he was going, and returned within a little; and finding Mrs. Durham not within, he went up to the story above to Mr. Arthur Murray's house, who had been turned out of his kirk in Orkney.* And when he saw him, he wondered

ly with Mr. Hew, who did sleep, as before related in the print, which the said Mr. Matthew knew, having sleeped very little that night, because of a pain in his head wherewith he was frequently troubled. *And because no friend durst put on mourning,* the said Mr. Matthew did wear his black hair stuff coat wherein he was hanged, and that as long as it lasted." (MS. Jac. V. 7. 22.)

* "This good and aged man was living in the suburbs of Edinburgh, through which Dalziel's soldiers marched in triumph.

how he had got safely into his house in such a confusion; for he had heard that he in particular was among the whigs. He told him how he had escaped, at which he cried out, "O dear Billy, I hope God has yet more to do with thee." Then he told him his errand, and with whom it was, but saw no access now to do any thing in it; and it was the thing he told his friends ere he left them, that it was not likely he could get in at that time, for all would be in confusion. However, when my landlord told that the wicket of the Netherbow was open, they sent his wife with a verbal message to Mr. Stewart; but she could not get in. So he went to his bed, being exceedingly weary; and his boots not having been off for many nights before, and wet, they were forced to slit them off; and they were hanging there thirteen years after, when Mr. Veitch was brought prisoner out of England to Scotland, to die under a sentence in absence, as after will appear.

The next morning, being informed that the western forces were marching from Collington about Pentland-hill ends, and seeing that he could do nothing in the affair he was sent for, he resolved

When he opened his window, and saw them display their banners, and heard the shouts of the soldiers, triumphing over the prisoners, he was struck to the very heart,—took his bed immediately, and died in a day or two." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255.)

to venture a return to his friends, though against the advice of his landlord and others at Edinburgh. And going out by Libberton Kirk, towards the House of the Muir, he was like to be difficulted with some persons that were riding to the enemy at Pentland town; but advising them to go in and search for arms, he standing sentry at the town till they came out, in the mean time made his escape. But, passing through Roslin Muir, and coming to Glencross water, a frontier party of Dalziel's horse had almost taken him up. But being within cry of Lieutenant Paton* who commanded the rear guard of the opposite forces, he returned, and beating back the other party, delivered him; and said to Mr. Veitch, "O! Sir, we took you for a lost man, and repented sore that we sent you upon so unreasonable an undertaking."

* John Paton, Meadow-head, is among the Scots Worthies. Veitch styles him only Lieutenant. Fountainhall, at April 12, 1684, mentions Captain Paton's being brought in prisoner to Edinburgh. "He carried himself very discreetly before the Justices; however he is sentenced to be hanged on the 23d April; but was for a time reprieved; and at length was hanged on the 9th of May. He was willing to take the test; but a quorum of the Privy Council could not be then got to reprieve him."—(Decis. i. 295.)—On a similar statement in Fountainhall's Diary, p. 92, the editor remarks in a note, "This was brutal enough, especially as a quorum could have been easily collected for the purpose of hanging him. An old Judge, Lord Nairne, was dragged out of Court—[*bed*, it should have been said]—to vote for Argyle's condemnation."

As they rode up toward Pentland hills, they observed their friends leaving the highway, and marching up their body to the middle of the hill, and a select party of horse to the top. It was about twelve of the clock, the 28th day of November 1666: it having been snow and frost the night before, the day was pretty clear and sunshine. General Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills, of which they got notice, was the occasion of their taking of themselves to that strength; and within half an hour after, a select party of Dalziel's forces, commanded by Major General Drummond, fell upon their select party that was upon the top of the hill. Drummond and his party were instantly beat back to the great confusion and consternation of their army; hundreds whereof, as they were following disorderly through the hill sides, threw down their arms and ran away; and Drummond himself afterward acknowledged to the Reverend Mr. Kirkton, that if the Whigs had pursued their first assault, wherein they beat them back, they had utterly ruined Dalziel's forces.

M'Clellan of Barmagechan,* and Mr. John

* Robert M'Clellan of Barmagechan, in the parish of Borg, shared deeply in the sufferings of that part of the country, under Sir James Turner; and now took part with his fellow-sufferers in the rising at Pentland, as he afterwards did in that at Bothwell. Wodrow, (Hist. ii. 567,) has given an account of his sufferings in his imprisonment at Dunotter, in his banishment and voyage to

Crookshanks, commanded that first party, where some prisoners were taken by M'Clellan, but were let go in the evening, after the enemy had obtained the victory. Mr. Crookshanks and Mr. Andrew M'Cormick were both killed at the first rencounter.* Major Learmont commanded the second party, who beat the enemy again; where Duke Hamilton hardly escaped, by Ramsay, dean of Hamilton, his laying his sword upon the Duke's back, to ward off the countryman's stroke, that he

the plantations with Pitlochie, and in his return home after the Revolution.

* Mr. Andrew M'Cormick was charged with having been in Blood's plot in Ireland, along with Lackie and other six presbyterian ministers. Lackie, with Colonels Edward Warren, and Jephson, and Major Thomson, were executed. Thomas Blood, Colonel Gibby Carr, with Andrew M'Cormick, and Robert Chambers, nonconformist ministers, escaped. (Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 269, 70.) Messrs. M'Cormick and Crookshanks were, by some writers, supposed to have been active in exciting the insurrection, being themselves exposed to danger for their concern in the plots in Ireland; but the conduct of Mr. M'Cormick, referred to in a former note, (see page 23,) does not favour that supposition. Wodrow says, he has seen no evidence of Colonel Ker's accession to the Irish plot. (Hist. i. 188.)

Wodrow, (Hist. i. app. p. 78,) gives a list of fifty-nine nonconforming ministers in Ireland. Of these several came to Scotland before Pentland, as Messrs. Michael Bruce and Andrew M'Cormick from Newton Presbytery, and John Crookshanks from that of Logan. Bruce and Crookshanks attract the notice of the Council, who, on June 23, 1664, ordain letters, charging them at the Cross of Edinburgh, and Pier and Shore of Leith, to appear, July 27, for preaching without licence, and empower the officers and commanders of the forces to seize them. (Wod. i. 215.)

saw he was bringing on him.* Dalziel sent up a party quickly to rescue the Duke, who beat back Learmont, and shot his horse under him; but he starting back to a fold-dike killed one of the four that pursued him, and mounting his horse came off in spite of the other three. The last rencounter was at daylight going, where the enemy's foot, being flanked with their horses on each side, firing upon the Whigs broke their ranks, their horses not being used with fire; then the troops upon the right wing of the enemy broke in upon them and pursued them; and had taken and killed many more, if the night had not prevented them.†

* Whether through the Duke's interest, or his own activity and capacity for business, Ramsay was afterwards advanced in the church. "James Ramsay, son of Robert Ramsay, minister at Dundonald, and afterward principal of the College of Glasgow, was first minister at Kirkintulloch, next at Linlithgow, and in the year 1670 he was made Dean of Glasgow, &c. (which deanry is annexed to the parsonage of Hamilton.) On the 22d July, 1673, he was preferred to the See of Dunblane, upon the translation thence of Bishop Leighton to the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow. On the 23d May, 1684, he was translated from Dunblane to Ross, (Publick Records,) and here he continued till the Revolution deprived him. He died at Edinburgh, 22d October, 1696, and was interred in the Canongate church-yard." (Keith's Catalogue of Scots Bishops, p. 121.)

† "I shall only notice," says Mr. Blackader, "that it was greatly wondered, that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outwearyed with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have faced such a formidable enemy; they being scarce 900 of them who engaged against 3000 horse and foot, beside great multitudes attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country, all well armed with all manner of furniture for war offensive and defensive; and yet, not only in the morning, but

Mr. Veitch falling in among a whole troop of the enemy, they turned his horse violently in the dark, and carried him along with them, not knowing but that he was one of their own; but as they fell down the hill in the pursuit of the enemy, he held upward till he got to the outside of them, and the moon rising clear, which made him fear he would presently be discovered, he saw no other way of escape but to venture up the hill, which he did, being well mounted; which, when the enemy perceived, they cried out, "Ho! this is one of the rogues that has commanded them." Several pursued him up the hill a little, and shot at him sundry times; but their horses sunk, and were not able to ascend the hill, so that he escaped, and came that night to a hird's house in Dunsyre Common, within a mile of his own dwelling. Giving the hird* his horse to carry home to his own stable, and to tell his wife, who was entertaining several of the officers that had fled, but weeping for fear her husband should have been killed, he lurked several nights thereabout, till he got ready things to go for England.

twice in the afternoon, they both faced them and resolutely fought till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes. It is not known what number of Dalziel's men fell that day, but these who stood on the hill, when the second party charged the enemy and chased them into the body, some honest men, I say, who stood among the rest and saw it, affirm they saw many empty horse run into the body of Dalziel's army." (Memoirs, MS. sig. K. 1.)

* Herdsman.

One remarkable passage on Friday's night after, which was the 30th of November, he cannot but mention; viz. that the Laird of Austown,* who lived near by his house in the Westhills, and was his landlord, having cleared some accompts between them, one particular was omitted, which occasioned him to go down in the moonlight to his house. And taking his servant with him, as he came in sight of the town, his man perceives a great many troopers, some of them riding about the dikes, and some of them searching the yards, for Major Learmont, the gentleman's son-in-law, whom Dalziel heard he had received; for it was his troop. Mr. Veitch's man says, "Master, Oh! yonder troopers; what will you do?" and so ran straight home. His master fearing that if they saw him they would follow him as a suspected person, he himself being in a country habit, like one of the hirds of the place, thought it fittest and safest to go forward; and coming to the green where the pedees and countrymen were holding the troopers horses till they searched the house and yards, goes to one of the tenants called Hugh Græme, an honest man, who was holding four or

* "John Hamilton of Auldstain, or Austane, was, in January, 1667, apprehended by the Council's order, upon a suspicion that Major Lermont, his son-in-law, had been in his house after Pentland. Nothing could be proven, and with difficulty he got out, upon giving bond to compear when called, under penalty of ten thousand merks." (Wod. i. 266.)

five of their horses, and says, "What think you of this night, Hughie? will it be snow or not?" He, perceiving who it was, says, "Willie, take two of these horses and lead;" and he leading them to and again, when they got alone from the company, he said, "O, what brought you here to-night?" and he telling him that it was to speak with the laird, he says, "That you will not get done, for they are taking him away prisoner." In the mean time, they sent a party up to Mr. Veitch's house to search for him, but found neither him nor his horse; for his man had taken him out to the moor. When the troopers mounted and took away the laird prisoner, Mr. Veitch held the stirrups of the two horses till his masters mounted their horses, with his greasy bonnet under his arm. After that, he went to the hird's house all night, and lay in the calf-house among some straw.

The Saturday after he sent one down to Tweedale, to see if there was any safe travelling through that country; and the man that went carried his wife behind him, upon his fine horse, to Mr. Fleming's house, minister of Stobo;* and she was to send him word by the man, if there was any searching that way; and hearing of no danger, he came about midnight to Mr. Fleming's house,

* In the roll of ministers who were nonconformists to Prelacy, is "Mr. Patrick Fleming of Stobo." (Wodrow, i. app. No. xxxviii. p. 72.)

and taking his wife on behind him, they rode to Glenvetches before day, and the next night to Torwoodlee, and so to his brother Mr. John's, who had sent James Hume of Flass, his brother-in-law, to Edinburgh, to hear how all was going; who returning the next day, brought the printed proclamation against the leading Whigs, to apprehend them wherever they could be found, and not to harbour them, as they would not be punished according to law, as the persons harboured did deserve. His name being there, he was forced that night to fly into England and leave his wife, who was at that time big with child of his eldest son William.

He left with his wife the fine horse he rode upon, being one of the Lord Loudon's horses that was taken from him, because he had sent his officer to warn all his tenants not to rise to the assistance of their friends. She delivered him at Edinburgh to a friend of my Lord's, and went back to her family at the Easthills. He, intending for Newcastle, and being wholly a stranger in that country, and fearing to be robbed by the way, left his money with a merchant in Kelso; and not daring to take a written bill, he got a verbal token to Robert Ker, merchant in the Groat Market of Newcastle to pay him the money; but, before Mr. Veitch came there, he had got advice by letter so to do. He found several of his friends there who were in the proclamation, and finding

them go under other names for their safety, he took the name of William Johnson, his mother being of that name.

The worthy Mr. John Spreul, town-clerk of Glasgow, being fled thither,* they took a chamber and dieted together that winter; where Mr. Veitch fell into a great flux, through the fatigue and cold he had got that winter. He met with great kindness from the good people in that place, so that he was not only able to live comfortably

* Mr. Spreul had not fled, but was banished. He had been imprisoned in September 1660, along with John Graham, Provost of Glasgow, as a person friendly to the Remonstrance. At that time he obtained his liberty. But he was afterwards brought before the Council, "and the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, he refused the same, alledging he had not freedom to sign the same, by reason of the tie that lay upon him by the oath of the Covenant: Wherefore the said Lords (December 18, 1664,) judging it unjust, that any person should have the benefit of the protection of his Majesty, and enjoy the liberties of a free subject, who refuse to give their oath of allegiance, ordain the said Mr. John Spreul to enact himself under pain of death, to remove out of the kingdom against the first of February next, and not to return without licence, and find caution to behave peaceably till then, under the pain of two thousand pounds, and not to go within six miles of Glasgow." He returned in 1671, and, in consideration of sickness and the infirmities of age, was liberated on bond. (Wodrow, i. pp. 10, 216, 348.) Provost Graham, mentioned above, on regaining his liberty, retired to Holland with Provost Porterfield of Glasgow, who was in similar circumstances; and in the latter end of 1665, during the Dutch war, the Council declared them rebels and fugitives. (Wod. i. 266.) All the three were in the list of persons fined by act of parliament, 1662; Mr. Spreul in L. 1200 Scots, Provost Graham in L. 1000, and Provost Porterfield in L. 3000. Several letters from M'Ward to Porterfield are in the Advocates Library.

himself, but also to help his friends that were there in strait, viz. Mr. Spreul, Barmagaehan, Sundywell,* Andrew Gray, and James

* James Kirko of Sundaywell was served heir to his father, John Kirko, July 2, 1647. (Inquis. Retorn. Dumfries, 196.) This public-spirited gentleman, and Andrew Hay of Craignethan, had the honour to be the two ruling elders who were present with Mr. James Guthrie, and other ministers, when they met in the house of Robert Simpson in Edinburgh, at the restoration of Charles II., to agree in an address to the King, congratulating him on his return, and putting him in mind of the engagements which he had formerly come under to God and his people. On that occasion he was imprisoned for some months, and was afterwards vexed with repeated fines and quarterings of military, which obliged him to quit his house and property. (Wodrow, i. 7, 269; App. 60.)

He was closely connected with those ministers who preached in the fields in the year 1665, as appears from the following account by Mr. Blackader. Being invited by Gordon of Earlston's lady, to baptize a daughter whom she had born at Drumshinnock, in her journey from Galloway to Edinburgh, Blackader (to use his own words) "would needs venture, finding it a necessary duty, none of the nonconform ministers being in the bounds, at least who would venture to do it; and also, the laird, her husband, being banished out of the kingdom, and at London, after the beginning of the persecution in Galloway. John Neilson of Corsack, a godly gentleman, who was executed after Pentland, having formerly fled out of Galloway to Edinburgh, about the time of Mr. Ad. (Adamson, Blackader's assumed name) flying, did ride along with him to Drumshinnock that day they went out of Edinburgh, being to ride home secretly to see his wife; and when they came, Mr. Ad. baptized the child, who was called Margaret, now married since to Menstree; the child was presented by Corsack in the father's absence. After he had baptized this child, he rode forward next day, in the evening, to Barndannoch, to visit his children and servants whom he left behind; and though he came most privately there, souldiers being quartered not far off, yet was it discovered to several in the country, who brought thither five or six young child-

M'Dugald, with some others, who stayed all winter.

ren to be baptized, whom he baptized at night in his own house; and after he had ordered John Osburn to bring his youngest son, a child of two years old, to be carryed for Edin^r. and meit him that night at Mr. Samuel Austine's, in the place of Auchinson, near Sanquhar, early in the morning he rode back to Drumshinnock, stayed while near night, and with a guide rode to the said Mr. Samuel Austin's where he had trysted his son, where also he met with Sundywell, being on his journey to Edinburgh. In the morning they set away the man, with the bairn on horseback before him; his father and Sundaywell followed soon after, and overtook them in the hollows of Menoch Water, an unusual way; having ridden a while beside the child, he, with Sundaywell, was forced to leave him with the uncouth man, where he cryed out pitifully till the hills resounded again. They were forced to take bywayes all the way, for the present danger. His father turned back a little and then rode on with Sundywell, and came to the parish of Dunsyre on Saturday night, to Mr. Veitch's house at Hills, where he preached on the morrow, being Sabbath, but to a few persons, publick preaching not having been practised in these bounds before." This happened in spring 1666. (Blackader's Memoirs, MS. H. 3, 4.)

John Osburn, mentioned above, belonged to the parish of Keir, and was joined with the ministers against whom letters were directed January 25, 1666, alleging, "the said John Osburn does presume to take upon him to be an officer for giving notice to the people of the said unlawful meetings, and accordingly, from time to time, doth acquaint them herewith. (Wod. i. 234, 235.) His own account of his sufferings is here subjoined from a manuscript in the Advocates Library. "In the first place when the ministers came to preach in the hills, to wot, when Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Gabriel Sample, and other eight with them were denunced, and I was also denunced with them, as being muntan beddall, as likeways afterhend I was forced to flee, and afterward returning home, was apprehended at my master's harvest by a party of Turner's men; being taken to Dumfriece, was interrogate whoe they were that preached, and who were audi-

One of his greatest and kindest friends was Madam Johnson, wife to Mr. William Johnson of Kipplesworth, who, at that time, was present Mayor of Newcastle, who did often visit him *incognito*, especially in his sickness, letting him want nothing. And when he began to recover of his flux tabled him in the country with an independent minister, that he might have a better air for his health; and took him along with her as her chaplain to Naisborrow Spa, * which was an occasion to acquaint him with many persons in the several counties about, such as General Venables who lived at West Chester, † and Jus-

tors of my acquaintance; the which I absolutelie refused upon all hazards. Thence he put me in the thives hole, and threatned me by sterving, keeping the key the space of three days himself, thinking to make me confess whome I knew to be preachers and hearers, the which I absolutlie refused; afterwards my wife went to one of the tune bailies, declaring to him that she would goe to Edinburgh and complain. Afterward I was brought out of the prison, and was put in another, where I received meat and drink, otherwayes I had sterved." (No. 6, MS. XL. art. 54.)

* Knaresborough, a town in the North Riding of Yorkshire, pleasantly situated on the river Nid, on a rugged rough rock. It is famous for four medicinal springs, and is 18 miles W. by N. of York. (Walker's Gazetteer.) And now (says Sir John Reresby) Lord Fairfax, a Roman Catholic, and Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding, being at York, observed to me, "it could be for no good end that the Lords Devonshire and Danby were come down to the country; though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters of Knairsbourgh." Oct. 4, 1688. (Reresby's Memoirs, p. 275-6.)

† This is the city Chester, as evidently appears from what

tice Sharpless at Blakeburn, with merchants about Leeds, Wakefield, and other places of that country, who earnestly invited him to come and sojourn with them. Venables earnestly solicited the lady Johnson to let Mr. Veitch to go in his coach with him, and stay with him next winter; but he desired the lady not to grant it till he went back with her, and got things fit for such a journey.

After he returned with the lady, he longed to see his wife and family, and know what was become of them; hearing that she was greatly molested with parties of troopers, who ordinarily came in the night (offering to break up her doors if she did not quickly open) to search for her husband, and also for Major Learmont, who lived within two miles. And they being often disappointed of their design, made use of a malignant laird and lady who lived hard by, to inform them when he came home; and coming some weeks after to that house first to get information, they told that they never heard of his coming home, and it were a pity to disturb such a

follows. After the battle of Naseby, Mrs. Hutchinson states, that "Fairfax tooke again the towne of Liecester, and went into the west, reliev'd Taunton, tooke Bristol, and many other garrisons. West Chester alsoe, and other places were taken that way."—(Life of Col. Hutch. p. 253.)—The king when at York sent a message to the parliament, that he was going to Ireland, and would form a guard at West Chester. (Ibid. 88.)

good gentlewoman, who was big with child: and, giving them drink, persuaded them to pass by to the major's house. Here was a special hand of God, for that night Mr. Veitch was come home, and they would have undoubtedly found him and his horse both. But he that evening went away, and advised his wife to give up the farm and go to Edinburgh, where she might live quietly: and he returning to Newcastle, Justice Sharpless, who lived at a hundred miles distance in Lancashire, sent his son to conduct him into the country, where he sojourned with him and General Venables * many

* Colonel Venables arrived at Dublin with reinforcements to the Parliament's troops in July 1649. (Carte's Ormond, ii. 78.) He was employed in Ireland, and was in Cromwell's Parliament, (which met September 3, 1654,) for the counties of Downe, Antrim, and Armagh. (History of Irish Parliament, ii. 242-3.) His attempts, in 1650, to induce the presbyterian ministers to own the Rump Parliament, proved abortive.—(Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians, pp. 288—297.)—In 1655, an expedition was fitted out to St. Domingo, under the command of Pen and "General Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire, who had served long in the army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to command in this expedition." Clarendon says, that both these officers were well affected to the King's service, and had, unknown to one another, signified so much to him; but he wished them to reserve their affections to a more proper season. (History vi. 739.) Having failed in the attempt on St. Domingo, the object of the expedition, though they succeeded in a descent on Jamaica, Cromwell was so highly incensed that at their return he committed them for some time to the tower, and could never be

months: then came to Leeds, where his acquaintances there he had gotten at the Well made him very welcome. Among all these parts he preached to the people as conveniency offered, it being a persecuting time.

From thence he was invited to go to London, where he sometimes preached in meeting houses, particularly for Mr. Nichol Blakie, * one Sabbath

persuaded to trust either of them again.—(Ibid. 744.)—In 1663 Venables was examined on the Marquis of Antrim's alleged correspondence with Cromwell or his officers.—(Carte's Ormond, ii. 279.)

* Mr. Nichol Blackie, or Blakie, was author of some Sermons under the title *Lazarus Redivivus,* published in 1671 at London, where they had been preached about the period when Veitch was occasionally with him. They were reprinted at Edinburgh in 1760, with a preface by the Reverend Adam Gib, who had looked in vain for the author's name in Calamy's Account of Non-conforming ministers, but appears to have had no suspicion of his being a Scotchman. This, however, was the fact. Mr. Alexander Shields mentions his having gone to London with a letter of recommendation to one Mr. Blackie a Scottish minister.—(Minutes of the general meeting of United Societies, MS. p. 172. Advocates Library.) On looking into Wodrow's list of Scottish non-conforming ministers, I find Mr. Blackie ejected, by the Glasgow act in 1662, from Roberton in the Presbytery of Lanark, the very parish in which Veitch's father had been minister, and from which he was driven, after 45 years ministrations. But it does not appear whether Blackie was inducted to the parish after Veitch's ejection, or had been previously settled as assistant and successor to him. At any rate, both were turned out before this time, and our Veitch's acquaintance with Blackie is accounted for. Mr. Blackie survived the Revolution, but I know not if he ever returned to Scotland.

day, on Luke 19, 41, 42. "If thou hadst known in this thy day," &c. where there happened to be some

From a passage of his Sermons, it is probable that Mr. Blackie was one of those who preached to the people of London, in 1665 and 1666, on occasion of the plague and burning of the city. "Was not this a hopeful beginning, to see a people coming out of the fire and from the plague—trembling and melted down at Christ's feet? Then *you spake* trembling, and he exalted you, by sending forth from these flames the cooling waters of the sanctuary, that run plentifully towards you, when the gospel had a free passage, by the indulgence of the supreme authority, for several years." (Lazarus Redivivus, p. 17. ed. Glasgow, 1795.) "One great benefit (says Mr. Baxter) the plague brought to the city; that is, it occasioned the silenced ministers, more openly and laboriously to preach the gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the people; insomuch, that to this day the freedom of preaching, which this occasioned, cannot, by the daily guards of soldiers, nor by the imprisonments of multitudes, be restrained. The ministers that were silenced for nonconformity, had, ever since 1662, done their work very privately, and to a few (not so much through their timorousness, as their loathness to offend the king, and in hopes still that their forbearance might procure them some liberty; and through some timorousness of the people that should hear them.) And when the plague grew hot, most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks, in the time of their extremity: whereupon divers non-conformists pitying the dying and distressed people, that had none to call the impenitent to repentance, nor to help men to prepare for another world; nor to comfort them in their terrors, when about 10,000 died in a week, resolved that no obedience to the laws of any mortal men whosoever, could justify them for neglecting of men's souls and bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justify parents for famishing their children to death: And that when Christ shall say, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these ye did it not to me; it will be poor excuse to say, Lord, I was forbidden by the law." (Life of Baxter, part iii. p. 2.)

hearers who were esteemed to be spies, (which was a Court trick at that time) who cried out

The pious intrepidity with which one of these ministers (Mr. Thomas Vincent, author of a well-known Catechism,) devoted himself to this perilous work of love, surpasses any of the justly-lauded labours of the philanthropic Howard. To the arguments employed to persuade him not to expose his valuable life, by his brethren assembled for the purpose of dissuading him from his purpose, Vincent replied, " that he had very seriously considered the matter before he had come to a resolution : he had carefully examined the state of his own soul, and could look death in the face with comfort. He thought it was absolutely necessary that such vast numbers of dying people should have some spiritual assistance. He could have no prospect of service in the exercise of his ministry through his whole life like that which now offered itself. He had often committed the case and himself to God in prayer; and, upon the whole, had solemnly devoted himself to the service of God and souls upon this occasion; and therefore hoped none of them would endeavour to weaken his hands in this work." " When the ministers present had heard him out, they unanimously declared their satisfaction and joy, that they apprehended the matter was of God, and concurred in their prayers for his protection and success. He went out hereupon to his work with the greatest firmness and assiduity. He constantly preached every Lord's day through the whole visitation in some parish church. His subjects were the most moving and important, and his management of them most pathetic and searching. The awfulness of the judgment, then everywhere obvious, gave a peculiar edge to the preacher and his auditors. It was a general inquiry through the preceding week, where he was to preach: multitudes followed him wherever he went; and several were awakened by every sermon. He visited all that sent for him, without fear, and did the best he could for them in their extremity, especially to save their souls from death. And it pleased God to take particular care of him; for though the whole number reckoned to die of the plague in London this year was 68,596, and seven persons died of it in the family where he lived, he continued in perfect health all the while, and was afterwards useful, by his unwearied labours, to a

after the blessing was pronounced, treason, treason; which surprised and frightened Mr Blakie and the people; but the famous Colonel Blood, who went then under the name of Allan,* with some of his accomplices, sitting near the only door of the meeting-house, while the others who cried were on the far side of the pulpit, Colonel Blood stands up, saying, "Good people, what are these that cry treason, treason? We have heard nothing but reason, reason. You that are in the passage there stand still, and you who are betwixt and the pulpit, make way for the minister to come to me, and I'll carry him safe to his chamber." And so he did, and we heard no more of that business.

Thus did Mr. Veitch travel from place to place, sometimes at London, sometimes at Nottingham, sometimes in Cheshire, and sometimes in Lancashire; and stayed frequently at Mr. Scurr's house at Haguehall, five miles off Leeds; and preached much at the meeting-house of Topcliff-hall about three miles from Leeds; † and

numerous congregation, till the year 1678, when he died at Haxton." (Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 125-6.)

* "Thomas Allen, the pretended doctor, was really Mr. Blood, under that fictitious name. (Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 365. Last edition.) This singular character comes to be mentioned again in the memoir.

† It is evident that the parts of England frequented by Veitch abounded with non-conformists. They had been deprived of

sometimes in Northumberland, especially in Reedsdale and the borders thereabout, until the

their ministers by the act of Uniformity, and by subsequent procedure. The following notices relate to the places mentioned in the text.

Hague-Hall.—Mr. Leonard Scurr, ejected from Beeston, was a native of Pontefract, and had a good estate in that neighbourhood. About 1680 he and his family were murdered. The murderers fled to Ireland, but were apprehended. (Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. ii. p. 555.) Mr. Gamaliel Marsden, ejected from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1660, and from a chapel near Halifax in 1662. "He afterwards went into Holland, and at his return taught some young students at *Hague-Hall* philosophy," &c. He died May 28, 1681. (Ibid. p. 563.)

Topcliff-Hall.—Mr. Christopher Marshall, ejected from Woodkirk in 1662; preached in 1672 at Topcliff-hall. He died in 1673. (Ibid. 579.) Mr. James Calvert "had been several years at Topcliff, when he was silenced by the act of Uniformity." After some stay at York, he, about 1675, became chaplain to Sir William Strickland of Boynton. On his death he removed to Hull, and thence to Northumberland to Sir William Middleton's, who made him his chaplain, and left him tutor to his only son. Ibid. p. 596.)

Leeds.—Mr. Richard Stretton ejected from Petworth in Sussex, preached in Leeds from about 1670 to 1677. (Ibid. p. 469.) He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Sharp, ejected from Addle, in the West Riding, who survived the Revolution. (Ibid. p. 469.) Mr. Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton, West Riding, was one of four who preached in a meeting-house erected in Leeds on the Indulgence, 1672. (Ibid. p. 556.) Messrs. Robert Todd, James Sales, and Christopher Nesse, were ejected from Leeds. (Ibid. p. 565-6-7.)

Wakefield.—Mr. Jeremiah Marsden was ejected from Ardesley chapel near Wakefield in 1662. (Ibid. p. 552.) Mr. William Howden, born near Leeds, being ejected from Broadsworth, removed to Wakefield, where he preached, even after the loss of his sight, which happened about 1690. (Ibid. p. 558.)

year of God 1671. Being prevailed with by that people to bring his family into the north, that he might be some way useful among them, he removed his wife and two sons, William and Samuel, in creels, from Edinburgh into a village called Falalies, farming a piece of ground from Charles Hall, who was owner of that place and village, within the parish of Rodberry in Northumberland. After some years wandering, he had found that lot much embittered with his great and almost continual distance from his wife and family, as also with the great troubles they underwent, (parties of soldiers besetting and breaking up the doors at midnight,) so that he resolved to transport them into Northumberland; neither his affection nor ability serving to carry them farther at that time, he being forfeit life and fortune and all that he had taken from him, except a little they knew not of.

But they were not well settled there (though in a moorish retired place) when their neighbours of the Romish gang, which abound there,

Blackburn.—Mr. Charles Sager, master of the school of Blackburn, Lancashire, preached there, or in the vicinity, till 1668 or 1669. He was afterwards imprisoned. (Ibid. vol. i. p. 335.) Mr. Jeremiah Marsden, mentioned in the last paragraph, had preached at Blackburn, and in various places in Yorkshire, Cheshire, &c. previous to his settlement at Ardesley. (Ibid. ii. 553.)

did stir up the Lord Whiterington* to mar some small meetings that he had. It being about the time of the English indulgence,† he pretended a commission to apprehend and secure all ministers that had not the king's license, and thinking belike that this stranger had scarce friends or time to procure one of the licenses, he, accompanied with Esquire Thornton,‡ a great Romanist, and several other gentlemen, came to the minister's landlord, whom they sent to see for the license, and finding one, which indeed was come but the preceding day, went away with a great disappointment.

This liberty occasioned him to be called five miles farther into the country, and to farm an house suitable to the work, called Harnamhall,

* Sir William Widdrington of Widdrington Castle was expelled the House of Commons, 1642; created a Baron by the King in 1643; and slain at Wigan on the march of Charles II. to Worcester. William, Lord Widdrington, his son, was one of the Council of State on the Restoration.—(Hutchinson's Northumberland, ii. 317.)—Being Governor of Berwick, he took offence at a sermon which Mr. Luke Ogle, the minister of that town, preached on the 5th of November, shut him out of his church without waiting for the Act of Uniformity; threw him afterwards repeatedly into prison, and refused to allow him to live in Berwick, even after the English indulgence was granted, unless he would conform.—(Palmer's Nonconf. Memor. ii. 244—6.)

† March 15, 1672.

‡ Sir Nicholas Thornton's estate was sequestrated by parliament 8th Nov. 1652.—(Hutchinson's North. ii. 283, note.)

belonging to Major Babington,* where the auditory increased daily. The very report made several persons come to see the novelty, and satisfy their curiosity; of some of whom, it can be said, they went not as they came; for the profanation of the Sabbath by baking their bread, starching their clothes, mucking their byres, &c. was wonderfully reformed by his preaching on Sabbath sanctification.

Likewise many Anabaptists, who keep seventh-day Sabbath, came to hear, and being taken with the ordinances, did also keep our Sabbath, and were punctual attenders. One young gentlewoman who was married to a Presbyterian, after the baptism of her first child, was long under trouble of mind, and confessed that shame kept her long back; but coming over all at length, stood up in the congregation, and making a savoury confession of her faith, was baptized—(it was a weeping day, and I think did more good than many sermons)—which did much good in

* "Harnham was the mansion of the Babingtons (a family as ancient in Britain as the Conquest) and of Colonel Babington, in the reign of Charles II. Governor of Berwick. His first wife, Catharine, was under excommunication for contempt of an ecclesiastical sentence, on which account she was not entitled to sepulture on consecrated ground."—(Ibid. i. 217—8.) It is probable that protestant nonconformity was her crime, as she was the widow of Colonel George Fenwick, and eldest daughter of Sir Arthur Hezelrigge of Nosely, and of Dorothea Grenville, sister to Robert Lord Brook. (Ibid.)

the corner, several following her example. By this and other motives the meeting still increased, by many who lived at a great distance, they would have come ten miles on the one side, and as far on the other.

And here I cannot pass a remarkable story concerning a village called Fenick or Phenwick, about five miles off this meeting, where a godly weaver and his wife lived, who were the scorn of the place for their piety, and used to steal in the back way to their own house; but being discovered by a number of young men playing at the foot-ball on Sabbath afternoon, they left their game coming to mock them; but the honest man addressing himself to some of them who were of good age, after he had laid before them the danger of such an open profanation of the Sabbath, he invites three or four of them but to go once along with him and hear sermon, and it might be that they would change their thoughts; and if they were not persuaded to go again, yet he hoped they might be so far convinced as not any more to mock him for going. These went with him next day, and it pleased the Lord that they got that which made them invite others, and they others, till the most part of the town came; and family worship, with Sabbath reformation, was so remarkable there, that it was the talk of the country about, and greatly incensed the clergy.

Whilst the bulwark of indulgence continued he preached peaceably, although some of several offices, professions, and qualities meanwhile were sharpening their teeth and snarling, which visibly appeared upon the back of that proclamation recalling the liberty. For Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkharle, a justice of the peace, being instigated, as is confidently reported, by several of his pot companions, the clergymen, did once and again issue out warrants to the high and petty constables of that ward to apprehend him; which proving ineffectual, he, to gain his point, retrieve his credit, and gratify the renewed desires of his forementioned friends, drinking one Saturday afternoon with him in his own house, did solemnly promise that the next Sabbath, which was then very nigh, he would go himself in person and apprehend him, and consequently, once for all, put a stop to that meeting. But not many hours after, if any, he by an unusual mean got his leg broke, so that for many weeks he could not travel: his lady, Sir John Fenwick's sister,*

* Thomas Loraine of Kirkharle, was created a Baronet in the 26th year of the reign of King Charles II. and died in January 1717. He married Grace, daughter of Sir William Fenwick, Baronet of Wallington, in the county of Northumberland. Sir John Fenwick was executed on Towerhill in 1696 for a conspiracy against King William.—(Hutchinson's North. i. 220, 221.)—"Northumberland.—Sir John Fenwick, a Captain under the Duke of Monmouth, and promised a place at Court, had L.2000 given him for his election."—(Marvell's Works, ii. 571.)—He ap-

calling him out from the instigators to the stair-head, being in a passion, kicked him down stairs for selling four oxen and spending the price of them in drinking.

The clergy then resolved to make use of their instruments of death, seeing his were blunted; and that they might be completely furbished and sharpened effectually to do the work, one Parson Ward of Kirkharle* goes up to the chief grinder and polisher at Durham, viz. the bishop,†

pears to have sitten in all the parliaments from the Restoration to the Revolution.—(Hutchinson's North. ii. 447—8.)

* "Kirkharle vicarage.—Ric. Ward. 1671, Pr. Thomas Lorraine."—(Hutchinson's North. State of Churches, p. 46.)

† On October 22, 1674, Nathaniel Crewe was translated from Oxford to Durham. (Surtees, Durham, vol. i. P. i. p. cxv.) "In 1677 the Duke of Monmouth was sent as general against the Scottish Covenanters. Bishop Crewe's zeal for this service cannot be doubted; he posted to his diocese, [of which he was Lord Lieutenant] raised the militia of the county with great promptitude, and entertained the Duke at Durham both on his progress and his return." He solemnized the marriage of the Duke of York with Mary of Modena, and on the Duke's accession, "went headlong into the destructive measures which hurled that prince and all his family into exile." Though he voted that James had abdicated the throne, he was excepted from the general pardon granted by William and Mary, and fled to Holland, but having returned and taken the oaths to the new government, was restored to his bishopric. On Sir John Fenwick's trial for treason against King William, the Bishop had King James's thanks sent him from St. Germains for his attention to the prisoner. Bishop Crewe felt the ruling passion (aversion to the Whigs) strong in death; as he lay dying on the marble slab before the fire, he cried out, in almost his last moments, to his chaplain Richard Grey, "Dick! Dick! don't go over to them." (Ibid. vol. i. P. i. cxv.—cxix.)

and no doubt returned, as he thought, well armed for the destruction, not only of this but of other non-conforming ministers and people about: and being so well pleased that the bishop had given him and his brethren about, orders to excommunicate all of them, &c. But being a considerable way off his church on Sabbath (being detained by the parson of Pontiland who drank all night together) rides so hard to be home in time, that he tired his horse by the way, and not being able to get him on alone, he hires the herdman of Harnam, the town where this minister lived, to lead him, taking his club to drive him on. But while he is unmercifully (as it is like) beating the poor beast, it doth (without respect had to his coat, the canons, or the orders he carried) smite him violently with his foot upon the cheek bone until the blood gushed out and he fell; and so like the ass in sacred story presaged his unsuccessfulness. The boy that led the horse runs into a lady's house hard by; the old gentlewoman sent out the two servants that waited on her (the rest being at church) with a barrow, and they with the boy carried him in. She dressed his wound, and he lay there several weeks under cure; by which providence their malicious design at that time was disappointed, and I am credibly informed he carries the mark of that stroke to this day.

After he had preached four years in a hall at Harnam, the house and ground pertaining thereto got a new master, one Thomas Dawson, a roper in Newcastle, who, upon reasons best known to himself, refused to continue this minister his tenant, and thereby that meeting was dissolved; yet he was a dissenter, and his riches melted away afterwards.

This occasioned his removal to Stantonhall, in the parish of Longhorsly, May 16, anno where he found his lot fallen in none of the best places; the country side abounding with papists, and the parish church filled with a violent persecutor, one Mr. Thomas Bell, a Scotsman, of whom more afterward: and there wanted not justices of peace at hand meet helpers for them, two whereof, viz. Sir Thomas Horsley of Long-Horsley,* and William Ogle of Causeway Park,†

* "Long Horsley.—The family of Horsley held lands within this manor from distant ages." (Hutch. North. ii. 319.) Edward Horsley Widdrington, whose only daughter and heir married Thomas Riddall, Esq. of Swinburn Castle. (Ibid.) Sir Thomas Horsley, knight, was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Northumberland, anno 1679. (Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. 915.)

† "Cawsey Park—the inheritance of a younger branch of the noble family of Ogle." James Ogle, Esq. of Cawsey Park, a steady royalist, died 4th December 1664. (Hutchinson, ii. 318.) William Ogle, Esq. was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Northumberland, anno 1679, and member for that county, anno 1685. (Statutes of the Realm, v. 915.)

came with some men to take Mr. Veitch at a meeting in his own house, upon the second Sabbath of August 1677. One of the justices with his party came to the foregates, but Mr. Ogle with his came to the postern gate, and broke up a nailed door about three of the clock in the afternoon, without ever demanding entrance, and bursting up another door that the minister's wife was shutting till her husband escaped, whereby she had certainly been spoiled, she being great with child, if the falling down of the sneck had not prevented it. In the mean time the minister got into a hole within the lining of a great window which had been made on purpose, for the whole room was lined about with wainscot.

A Scotsman that was their gardener came along with them, and bursting first into that room perceived the minister going into the hiding place, which his wife perceived, and standing near him, he observed her to be afraid of him, and he said to her "Fear not," which eased her mind. They sent their servants up through the rooms and garrets to search for the minister and others; and one of their servants falling in upon the garret that was above a great lower hall which was the meeting place, looking down through a hole that was broke, he saw a great crowd of people (which were the town's folk gazing,) and one of them being in black clothes, whom he took to be the minister, he cried with

a loud voice, " Master, master, where are you? I have found 'em all." Justice Ogle running into the hall, cried " Where are they?" " Sir, you are just among them." " Come down, sirrah," says he; " the d—— confound you, for here is none but the people gazing." " Troth," says he, " Sir, I have been through so many garrets that I know not where I am." So missing their design, and advising his wife to let her husband preach to herself and her children only, then she should not be troubled, they went away. Their carriage was very rude, coming in with pistols in their hands; and all this was done upon the naked information of one single person, seconded with Mr. Bell's threatenings and persuasives.

The laymen being vexed, and the clergy about galled at this disappointment, resolved, on more frequent and close pursuits, to catch the prey. Mr. Bell drinking with a mixed company, some professed papists, others little better, who it is like were stimulating him on against that meeting and minister, vowed, as it is reported, that he should either ruin him or he him; and as the event proved, he was no false prophet. For after several essays against him and others, both such as dwelt in the country, and those that came in transiently from Scotland and preached, he, with several of that gang, as we hear, repre-

sented to Lauderdale, returning from Scotland to the Court, the dangerous condition of these northern counties, and that because of many vagrant Scotch preachers, by whose means the begun infection did spread, and was like to pass Tyne Bridge, and approach the very noble parts of the nation if not timeously prevented.

Shortly after his arrival at Court, several troops of horse and dragoons were sent thither, to crush all meetings, apprehend the abettors, and stop the infection. One Major Main was over the horse, and Major Oglethorp the dragoons.* These were sent to chastise the now

* During the rising at Bothwell, the Privy Council of Scotland desired Major Main to march to Kelso, and both he and Major Oglethorp appear to have been actively employed in suppressing the insurrection. (Wodrow, ii. 52, 596.) The forfeiture of life and fortune which followed the affair at Bothwell (says Ker of Kersland) "still affects some gentlemen who then forfeited, because their estates were given by the Crown to Colonel Cornwall, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, and General Main, three Englishmen, who never having any of their effects in Scotland, could not be reached by the laws of that nation. Nevertheless, Mr. Gordon of Craighlaw, Mr. Gordon of Earlston, Mr. Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. Ferguson of Caitlock, Mr. Martin of Cutcloy, and others, have been always reckoned among the loyalest subjects, since King William of glorious memory came to the Crown; who from that year 1679 have laboured under insuperable difficulties, (which all others, who then forfeited, were relieved from) without any probability of reparation, as much as if the forfeiture had never been reversed, notwithstanding all the representations that have been made of their case, not only to the government and Mr. Cornwall himself, but by the Parliament also recommended to the Crown, and even in spite of the Union too." (Memoirs, p. 5.) "If

bad (commonly called, and never more deservedly, the good) town of Berwick upon Tweed. These men being all strangers were to act by counsel and command of Colonel Strothers, a deputy Lieutenant of Northumberland, who was set over them, and preferred to have a troop of his own raising for his own guard; and as their commission was ample, so he was *sine quo non* in all their actings.

After they had carried on their work a great length (being feasted and encouraged by the papists, the clergy, and the corrupt justices) Major Oglethorp having notice given him in the very night Mr. Veitch came home, by some hired for that purpose, he being a stranger in the country, hires one Thomas Cleugh, a sheriff's bailiff, to be his guide from Morpeth; and after they had beset the house upon the 19th day of January 1679, about five of the clock in the morning, this Cleugh rapping on the glass window of the parlour where the minister lay, and calling him till he awaked, Mr. Veitch being surprised asked who was there, which, when Cleugh heard, "Now," said he to the Major, standing beside him, "Yonder he is, I have no more to do." Upon which the Major broke

Clavers and Oglethorp had been left to their own discretion, they had put an end to that rebellious crowd, and purged the nation of much superfluous and corrupted blood." (Memoirs of Dundee, p. 12.)

down the glass window, thinking to get in; but finding iron bars in his way, called to open the door quickly, quickly; and being impatient they broke in at the hall windows, and had their candles lighted ere the maid opened the inner doors; apprehended the minister, and carried him to Morpeth jail, where he continued prisoner twelve days. The warrant they had was by way of letter from Colonel Strothers and Mr. Ogle of Causeway Park his son-in-law, and now Lieutenant to his troop. It was given several months before, and directed to Major Main at Wooler; he directs it to Oglethorp at Morpeth, three or four miles from Stantonhall, to execute, the true copy whereof is as follows:

"Sir, We are credibly informed that there is one Mr. Johnson, a preacher or teacher to the nonconformists in the church of England, who stands outlawed for rebellion in the kingdom of Scotland, and a fugitive in this kingdom; his constant abode is at Stanton, about four miles from Morpeth in this county. We desire that you will give out your order to some of your forces under your command, that the said Johnson may be taken and sent to jail: and the jailor, his deputy or deputies, is hereby required, and in his Majesty's name straitly we command him or them, to receive the body of the said Johnson into their custody, and him safely keep

in their jails until the next assizes, and this shall be the jailor's security.

SIR, this with our humble
service to you, we rest
your faithful friends and servants,

WM. STROTHER.*
WM. OGLE."

" *Fowberry, Nov.* 21. 1678."

It was thus directed.

" For the Honoured Major Main, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, in these Northern Counties, at his quarters at Wooler."

It seems this warrant is sent to Major Oglethorp, Major of the dragoons, who lay at Morpeth, to be put in execution.

This warrant was no way formal or legal, as afterward was declared by good lawyers. The executing it upon a Sabbath day was against a late act of Parliament.† But the zeal and

* " Fowbury, the possession of the Fowburys, in the reign of King Edward I.; afterwards of the family of Strothers, and now of Sir Francis Blake of Twizell." (Hutchinson's North. i. 240.) William Strothers was a Commissioner of Supply in 1679, (Statutes of the Realm, v. 915.) and an active agent of the Council in Scotland, for apprehending Scottish ministers who had taken refuge in Northumberland. (Wodrow, ii. 254, 257.)

† Veitch refers here to the Act for the better observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, by the Parliament 1677,

love of reward carried them over all these difficulties, and a deep storm of snow to the boot; which made the Major and Griffith his Lieutenant, and Ensign Owen, (who was hanged at York, the Lammas after their disbanding, for robbery,) and the rest walk on foot all the way, and were often up to the middle in snow missing the tract in the night.

The foresaid Justices being acquainted by a messenger from the Major, and fearing the warrant, (for the Head Sheriff, * upon information

of which the following is an extract: "Provided alsoe, that noe person or persons upon the Lord's day shall serve or execute, or cause to be served or executed, any writt, processe, warrant, order, judgement, or decree, (except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace) but that the service of every such writt, processe, warrant, order, judgement, or decree, shall be void to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And the person or persons soe serveing or executeing the same, shall be as lyable to the suite of the partie grieved, and to answere damages to him for doeing thereof, as if he or they had done the same without any writt, processe, warrant, order, judgement or decree at all." (Statutes of the Realm, v. 848.)

* Marke Milbanke "was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1679." (Hutchinson's North. ii. 461.) He was of Scottish extraction. Ralph Milbanke was cup-bearer to Mary Queen of Scots; and having fought a duel in Scotland, retired and settled at Chirton, near North Shields. Mark Milbanke "his grandson and heir," was twice Mayor of Newcastle, and once High Sheriff of Northumberland. He was active in the Restoration, and a contributor to the money sent by the town of Newcastle to the King at Breda. Mark Milbanke, Esq. his "only surviving son and heir, was advanced to the degree of a Baronet [of Halnaby, Yorkshire] 13. Car. II.—and dying June 1680," was succeeded

of the illegalness of it, wrote to his deputy to turn the prisoner out of his jayl, which he obeyed not,) two days after, they send another, directed to the jaylor Fenwick, to keep him in safe custody until Lammas assizes, and that without bail or main prize. This warrant had Henry Ogle of Eglingham's hand joined to the other two.*

in honour and estate by his eldest son, Sir Mark Milbanke.—(Baronetage of England, ii. 223, 224.) Sir Ralph Milbanke of Halnaby, the father of Lady Byron, took the name of Noel in 1815. (Surtees, Durham, vol. i. part ii. p. 274.)

* "Eglingham is a seat of a branch of the Ogle family," of whom was "Henry, one of the sequestrators of lands in Northumberland for Parliament 19 King Charles I. 1643." "He was representative for this county in Parliament 5 King Charles II. 1653." (Cromwell's Parliament.) He is also in the list for 1654. "Henry, High Sheriff for this county, 6th Queen Anne 1707." (Hutchinson's North. i. 234, ii. 447.)

In his account of Mr. Henry Erskine's sufferings, Wodrow says:—"*July* 2, 1682, [it should be 1685. Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. ii. 253.] he was apprehended by eight of the militia horsemen, and carried first to Wooller and next day to Forberry [Fowbury], to Colonel Struthers, who acquainted him he must go to Newcastle to Sir John Fenwick, by virtue of an order from the King, and so was returned that night to Wooller prison, where he met with the Reverend Mr. Luke Ogle, a fellow prisoner. July 4, both of them were carried under a guard to *Eglingham, to a Justice of Peace his house;* and upon Munday July 6, for it seems the English were a little more careful of the Lord's day than our Scots persecutors, they were taken to Newcastle." (ii. 257.) It would seem they had grown more religious since Veitch's imprisonment.—Between 1648 and 1662, a Mr. John Pringle was minister at *Eglingham,* a nonconformist. (Hutchinson's North. vol. i. State of the Churches, p. 7.) Walter Pringle of

The lawyers being consulted did, notwithstanding, declare the prisoner bailable, and the Justices fineable for refusal; but for all this many refused, and this order that was procured from two Justices, was, by Mr. Green the under-sheriff, rejected. The tenor whereof follows:—

"Northumberland.—WHEREAS you have in your custody the body of one Mr. Johnson, *alias* Veitch, committed the 19th day of January instant, for holding and keeping unlawful assemblies and meetings; and himself hath preached and teached contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord and King that now is. And whereas there has been sufficient sureties given before us for his personal appearance at the next quarter sessions to be held for the county. These are in his Majesty's name straitly to charge and command you, the keeper of his Majesty's jayl for the county aforesaid, to bring before us the body of the said Mr. Johnson, *alias* Veitch, immediately upon sight hereof, that such care may be taken as the law shall direct; and hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your utmost peril. Given

Greenknow visited him at Eglingham in company with Mr. John Livingston, minister of Ancrum.—(Memoirs of Walter Pringle of Greenknow, written by himself, p. 21. Edin. 1751.)

under our hands and seall, this 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1678. [1679.]

Bellshaw, Jan. 29, 1678. Wm. Middleton.*
Cheesburn Grange, 29th Jan. 1678. Wm. Widdrington.†

"For the keeper of his Majesty's jayl at Morpeth, for the county aforesaid, his deputy or deputies, these."

In the mean time an express was sent to London, to acquaint his majesty that the prisoner was apprehended; and the king no doubt being greatly misinformed, an order was dispatched

* "Belsay Castle, the seat of Sir William Middleton—was part of the family possessions in the time of King Edward II." (Hutchinson's North. i. 218.) Sir William Middleton was created a Baronet in the 4th of King Charles II. according to Hutchinson, (p. 219.) but the 14th, according to the Baronetage of England, (ii. 269.) He was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1666. (Hutchinson, ii. 461.) In addition to the proof formerly given of his favourable disposition to the non-conformists, it may be mentioned that Mr. Robert Leaver, ejected from Bolham, Northumberland, preached sometimes at a chapel in the same parish belonging to Sir William Middleton; "and Mr. John Davis, ejected from Bywell, preached sometimes at Sir William Middleton's at Belsay." (Palmer, Non-conf. Mem. ii. 247, 249.)

† "Cheeseburn Grange lays to the north [of Rutchester.] The manor belonged to the priory of Hexham, afterwards to the *Widdringtons*, and now is the possession of Ralph Riddle, Esq." (Hutchinson's North. i. 130.)

from the king and council to transport the prisoner to Scotland, there to suffer for alleged misdemeanours. Therefore, he is safely to be conducted to the borders, where the sheriff of the Merse, the county next England, by the king and council of Scotland's order, was to receive him off the English hands.

After this order came, quick dispatch was made, lest the prisoner should have been liberate. Major Oglethorp meets Colonel Strother at Alnwick to consult about his transportation; and then they send the king and council of England's order to the under sheriff, and officer of dragoons, lying at Morpeth; which was read to the prisoner with a great deal of ceremony and insulting; performed by that confluence gathered together in the jaylor's low hall, to which he was brought down to prison from a guard of musketeers.

They appointed him to make ready for his journey by eight of the clock next morning, being the 30th day of January. But he told them, he knew not how to make ready, for he had access to speak to no person, either for getting horses or any other necessaries; and desired liberty to see his wife. They allowed him to send for any in town to provide horses, and to bring his wife to him, who came through a deep storm of snow to an inn at Morpeth after midnight, and sat at the

fireside till next morning; and when she came to her husband, was not admitted to speak to him but before the soldiers;* a guard whereof was that night set in the room to watch him, in conjunction with a fellow that the jailor had hired

* The following passage in Mrs. Veitch's Memoirs refers to this part of their family history. "Several years after it pleased the Lord to let my husband fall into the enemy's hands, who took him, January 19, about five o'clock in the morning, 1679, in Stanton-hall.—All the time the officers were in the house he supported me so, that I was not in the least discouraged before them, which made Major Oglethorp to say, he wondered to see me. I told him I looked to an higher hand than his in this; I knew he could not go one hairbreadth beyond God's permission. He answered, 'he permits his enemies to go a great length sometimes.' They took him to prison, where he lay about twelve days.—Much means were used for his liberty, but all to none effect, which bred new errands to God for him and me; but misbelief coming in, and telling many ill tales of God, was like to discourage me; viz. that I was a stranger in a strange land, and had six small children, and little in the world to look to; but he comforted me with these words, 'O, why art thou cast down, my soul, what should discourage thee? and why with vexing thoughts art thou disquieted in me? Still trust in him, for I shall have good cause to praise him.' Ps. xliii. 5.—He wrote to me in the night that there was an order from the king to remove him to Edinburgh. When I opened the letter he had that expression, 'deep calleth unto deep,' &c. But he was pleased to set home that word, 'good is the word of the Lord,' which silenced much my misbelief. I rode along with the man that night, but could get no access until the morning. When I came in the soldiers were guarding him, the kettle-drums beating, the troop presently in arms; we were soon parted, and he carried out to the streets, and set on horseback among the ranks, the town's people running to gaze. I went after to a friend's house in the town, and wept my fill, and some friends with me." (MS. Memoirs, p. 3, 4, 5.)

every night, lest he should escape, which care was not taken of the popish priest, prisoner in the same room, as was observed, either before or after.

The next day the kettle-drums beat early, and by Lieutenant Griffith he is brought to Alnwick, where the fore-mentioned justices that had given the two warrants to apprehend him, with the majors and other officers, about twenty of them, all assembled at the post-house to see the prisoner. The lieutenant drew up the guard before that door, and Colonel Strothers called out to bring up the prisoner, and, as he entered the dining-room, saluted him, regretting his hard circumstances, and hoping he would not mistake them, being obliged, by their places, to obey his majesty's orders. To which the prisoner replied, that he thought all persons in their several stations and capacities should act so in every one of them, as they may be answerable to a good conscience, the kings of the earth, and the Sovereign Judge before whom all of us must appear at the great audit. So he was desired to dine with them, but not to say grace, for some of them made the fashion of taking off their hat, and some not.

When the healths drinking came about he refused, at which Major Main cried out, " Colonel Strother, you see what a rebel this man is, who refuses to drink the king's health." To which he

replied, "Sir, if you understood the law you would [find] yourself the rebel, and not me. It seems you know not that the king, by proclamation, has discharged healths drinking, and his own in particular, which you will find in the booksellers' shops at Newcastle."* After that he was bidden drink no more healths. Dinner being ended, the trumpet blew, and Major Oglethorp, with a fresh party of Major Main's horse, borrowed to ease his own dragoons, the way being deep, and storm

* There may have been proclamations of a later date, but I give the following extract from a "proclamation against vicious, debauch'd, and prophane persons.—Given at our Court at Whitehall, the thirtieth day of May, in the twelfth year of our reign." [Anno 1660.] "Charles Rex.—There are likewise another sort of men, of whom we have heard much, and are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their time in taverns, tipling-houses and debauches, giving no other evidence of their affection to us, but in drinking our health, and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute temper; and who, in truth, have more discredited our cause, by the licence of their manners and lives, than they could ever advance it by their affection or courage. We hope that this extraordinary way of delivering us all, from all we feared, and almost bringing us to all we can reasonably hope, hath, and will work upon the hearts, even of these men to that degree, that they will cordially renounce all that licentiousness, prophaneness, and impiety, with which they have been corrupted and endeavoured to corrupt others; and that they will, hereafter, become examples of sobriety and virtue, and make it appear, that what is past, was rather the vice of the time than of the persons, and so the fitter to be forgotten together." (Pamphlets in Adv. Libr. ccc. 3. 12. No. 9.)

great, conducted him to Belford, another stage, sending an express before to Captain Ivory, who lay there with a troop of his dragoons to be ready to receive them and keep guard all night. The main guard lodged in a great barn before the post-house; Major Oglethorp and the prisoner lay in two beds in a chamber at the end of the lower hall. There were ten dragoons ordered to stay in the hall all night, and one of them to stand sentry within the chamber door, at the prisoner's bedside. There was a great coal fire in the room all night, which was very refreshing, both for light and heat, in such a cold night.

About midnight, our guard in the hall were all got drunk, and had neglected to relieve the sentinel, he crying out to the corporal to relieve him, and he bidding one of the dragoons go to it, and he bidding him go himself; they fell a-fighting, and made such a noise as they awaked the major, who came leaping out of his bed toward the prisoner, to see if he was gone; but he perceiving it, said, "Major, what are you afraid of?" Said he, "I thought you had been gone." So going to his bed, he asked the sentinel within the door what the matter was, who told him that they had got a little drink, and they would not come and relieve him. He caused the captain tie them all neck and heel in the main guard till he arose, and put fresh soldiers in the hall.

The next day they went to Berwick, and thought to have delivered the prisoner at the boundary-road; but the Earl of Hume, the high sheriff, sent him word that he had no orders as yet to receive the prisoner, and the magistrates of Berwick refusing to receive him into their jail, he was committed close prisoner in a room at the Crown, and a guard in the room with him night and day; none to see him or correspond with him; pen, ink, and paper taken from him, so that none got into the room but a servant maid to make his bed and fire, and bring him his meat. Providence fitted her well for his case, both for wit and affection; for when she came to make the bed, she brought paper and an ink-horn, and laid in the bed s head, and letters now and then, as they came to her hand, under the pillow, and looked to him, not daring to speak, to take notice thereof, the soldiers being at their game in the other end of the room; so that he had letters from his wife and friends, giving him an account of matters that fell out at home and elsewhere, in which he was concerned.

Under that hard usage he continued twenty days, in which time Duke Hamilton, coming from London, and lodging there, the prisoner was removed to another room; that being his bed-chamber.* The maid carrying up candles before

* The Duke did not find such good accommodation in Berwick on a former occasion. "Dec. 8, 1673. Duke Hamilton, and the

him, he cunningly asked her, "Who lay in this room last?" She answered, "If it please your grace, an honest minister, though now a prisoner." "It seems," said he, "you have a kindness for him." "Indeed have I," said she, "my lord, and would give any thing in my power to have him set at liberty; and would forgive your lordship, all my drink-money, and all that you will leave in the house, if you would befriend him;" with which he was so taken, that he left double drink-money, as was said. He sent quietly his master of horses, to see wherein he could do the prisoner a kindness. He gave his service to his grace, and thanked him, telling that his owning him at this time would be no kindness, when he and Lauderdale were so hotly contending.

Earle of Tweedale, take jurney for London, to present to the king's majestie the grievances of the kingdom of Scotland, and to keep themselves fra being mistaken by the king in their actings that way. Lauderdale compliments them at their departure; they went not with his consent. Duke Hamilton, in his jurney to London, is necessitat to pass through Berwick, and that night seek lodging elsewhere, in regard of the great convoy he had with him, of an 100 horse, that lenth; which the governour wold not suffer to abyd in the city. The governour intercepts the letters beforehand the duke had sent for London, and sent them to Lauderdale at Edinburgh, whereby he understood all his and his parties projects. Lauderdale keeps great hopes of the king's favour, and tells his favorites that Duke Hamilton will come down Commissioner, Tweedal Secretar, and Sir John Harper Lord President. He seems to be very little concerned in all this adoe." (Law's Memorialls, p. 56, 57.)

He was now parted from his dear and loving wife, a meet helper for him indeed, in this very case, and six small children ; and was necessitated to sell his stock for money to bear his charges, and by so doing to lay his farm lee, rendering it presently useless to his family, yea, so disabled as the way-going crop was lost, in which sad posture he left them ; the children young, insensible of the matter, and unfit to do for themselves, so that the whole burden was laid on the mother. Trouble and sorrow did now compass her about in this darkest hour of her twelve years night of affliction. Her soul melteth for heaviness and grief; she is now in deep waters in a foreign land, far from her relations, friends, and acquaintances ; distress and desolation at home, and destruction and death abroad ; the sad report whereof, with trembling, she expects every day, because of the fury of the oppressor. This puts her on a most serious exercise, and firm resolution to take God for all. He should be the husband, and he should be the farm ; he should be the stock and the crop ; he should be the provider, the food, and the raiment, the master of the family, and the father of the children; yea, she resolved to cleave faster unto this relation than Ruth did to Naomi, for that which parted them should bring her to the greatest nearness, most inseparable and comfortable communion with her God.

Thus, while deep called unto deep, she held by her compass, and followed the precedents of the word. Her prayer was in this night to the God of her life, and Jacob-like, she gave it not over till she got a new lease of her husband's life granted her; which, when she obtained, she wrote an encouraging letter to him at Berwick, (the weaning of her child Sarah not suffering her yet to visit him) telling him, that he should be like Isaac, with the knife at his throat, near to death; but the Lord would find a sacrifice, and the enemy should be restrained. She wished him also not to be anxious about his family, for the meal and the oil, little as it was, should not fail; not only till he returned, but also the kingdom to Israel. These instances, so clearly and convincingly borne in upon her, gave her good ground to say with the Psalmist, "Thy word is my comfort in all my afflictions;" her prayers and pleadings were turned to praises, and his statutes were her songs in the house of her pilgrimage; and she was persuaded that her night would yet have a day succeeding it, wherein he would, as a special favour to her and her family, command his loving kindness.

What insultings were over him and his honest hearers it were strange and tedious to rehearse; his enemies concluding, he should trouble them and the country-side no more; and who boasted

more than Mr. Bell, the parson of that place,* as having now accomplished his design and forementioned vow? For, meeting with a gentleman, (about two days after Mr. Veitch's transportation,) called Mr. Moor, who was a friend and hearer in the meeting-house, after other bitter invectives, Now, said he, this night he will be at Edinburgh, and hanged to-morrow, according to his demerits; and how could such a rebel as he, who did so and so, expect to escape the just judgment of God? But though the good man was silent, and gave him no answer, yet he met with a remarkable one within three days. He being then in his journey to Newcastle, and returning to Pontiland, (a fatal place to my persecutors,) on Wednesday afternoon, falls a drinking there till about ten of the clock at night, and then he would needs go home. But the parson of that place † urged the contrary, the night being dark and stormy, and the water big. No persuasions will prevail. He is not well got out of that town till he loses his way, and riding on, comes at length to the river Pont, where it is probable his beast

* "Allenton curacy. Thomas Bell, A. M. ap. Scotos, Cur. Allinton Ord. Deacon, Sept. 20, 1663. Joh. Stewart, 1671. (Hutchinson's Northumberland, I. Stat. Chur. 4.)—"Longhorsley Vicarage, Tho. Bell, A.M. 21 June, 1665, Pr. Cha. D. Somerset." (Ibid. p. 46, 47.)

† "Ponteland Vicarage.—Gawen Knight, A.M. 1672, P. Mort. Nanson. Vincent Edwards, A.M. 1679, P. Mort. Knight." (Hutchinson, North. I. Stat. Chur. 55, 56.)

stopped; and, he alighting to find where he was, and, as the jury apprehended, moving forward to feel with his foot in the snow what stopped his passage, slipped over the brink of the river unto the armpits, where, though it was a great depth, yet the old ice bare him up; the water, because of the two days thaw, running that deep above it; and now the frost returns so violently, that it freezes him in. He was found two days after, standing on his feet, with his arms stretched out, his hat on, and all dry above the arms. He had wrestled much to get out, as his boots and gloves did testify, being worn with his struggling among the ice. When he was found, the rumour went; and albeit several came to help out the dead man, yet few conducted his corpse home, or else they would never have carried him laid cross the horse, as they did, with one end of a rope about his neck, and coming under the horse belly, was tied to his feet to keep him on.*

* The following is Mrs. Veitch's account of this affair. "He (Bell) was a great enemy to my husband, because some of his hearers withdrew from him and would not hear him.—Three or four days after he was taken, one William Collinwood, who lived in Mr. Bell's parish, came to see me. He had been once a hearer of his, but had withdrawn and heard my husband. He going to Mr. Bell's to pay him some tythes, I desired him to come to me back, and tell what Mr. Bell said of my husband; for, I said, its like he may think now he hath gotten his desire accomplished. I'm told he bad him go to Edinburgh and get a preaching, for he would be hanged against Tuesday. When he told me, that Scripture

This speaking dispensation made great and various impressions on the people, especially those who knew how instrumental he had been in Mr. Veitch's trouble, and to show how bitter an enemy he was to the non-conformists' way, I shall only set down what he said to a parishioner of his whom he was chiding for going to conventicles. The man told him it was better to go to them than play at foot-ball or go to an ale-house; to whom he tartly replied, "You had bet-

was in my mind, "Let them curse but bless thou;" and that also, "He that rendereth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house." He was just going to Newcastle when he spoke to William Collenwood, he stayed all night and came the next day to Pontland, where he drank till 10 o'clock at night with the curate. There was a great storm of snow on the ground, and that day there had been a thaw. He would be home that night. They took his watch from him, his horse they locked up in the stable, but all would not do. He told them, he had a good horse; and nobody knew what way he rode, but he was found 12 [two?] nights and a day afterwards standing in a water, frozen just to his arm-pits, dead; for there came on a great frost that night. His hat was on, his band dry, his gloves on, he standing at the side of the water, had worn his boots and gloves to get out of the water. They could scarce get as many countrymen as carry him home, and getting forchammers, they brake the ice, and ty'd him on a horse and carried him to his wife. The whole country about was astonished at the dispensation, and often said to me there would none trouble my husband again; for they all knew that he was an enemy to my husband. I told them, they that would not take warning from the word of God would never take warning from that. That Scripture was often borne in upon my spirit, "Rejoice not at the fall of thine enemy, lest He see it and be displeased." (MS. Memoirs, p. 57.)

ter drink drunk, and kill one in your way home, as go hear any of these men."

Now this Mr. Thomas Bell was a Scotchman, of the meaner sort of gentry, born in the parish where the prisoner's brother, Mr. John, was minister, who took him from herding, (his father being brought low,) put him to the grammar school, and got the presbytery's bursary to him when he went to the college. After his laureation, and losing that benefice, he made his moan to the minister, that now he was in worse case than ever, and intreated his help for a little till he sought out a place. Upon which he wrote a letter to Torwoodlee, and some other good gentlemen, each of them to give him so much money at his desire, which they did; and he, falling in company with Sir Thomas Ker of Fairly, continued drinking with him some days, which irritated the gentlemen; and he hearing that they were sending to Mr. John Veitch to come and take their money from him again, which was like to be ill bestowed, he took straight to England, and complying with that government, obtained his parsonage. By this you may see what a bad requital he gave to the minister that did so much for him, when he persecuted his brother at such a rate.

Upon the 20th of February, 1679, Major Hope, then deputy-governor of Berwick, and most of the officers there, carried the prisoner, guarded with

a company of foot before him, another behind, and they riding on each hand to the boundary-road betwixt the kingdoms, and delivered him over, with a great deal of ceremony, to the sheriff's depute of the Merse, attended with some petty gentry, and a party of the Earl of Airly's troop of horse; commissions from the king for so doing being read, and volleys shot on both sides. He was conducted by these, first to Ayton, where there was a treat of claret provided for the English officers; and after they had drunk some hours there, he was carried that night to Dunbar. The magistrates were required, in the king's name, to send eighty men to guard the house and him all night. David Hume of Newton,* the sheriff-depute, being well acquainted with the prisoner, at his desire, sent his man quietly off to his brother, Mr. John, to meet them the next day about two or three of the clock in the afternoon at such an inn in the foot of the Canongate, where they might converse together a little before he should go to prison, which was done; and then the sheriff carried him quietly up in a coach in the evening to the tolbooth, where

* 10th July, 1678. David Home of Newton was appointed a commissioner of supply for the shire of Berwick. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 224.) In Fountainhall's Decisions, (ii. 195, 196,) we find Edgar of Newton "bound cautioner" for David Hume "to Mr. John Veitch, minister at Foulstruther, [*Woolstruther*, as Westruther was anciently written] and sundry others his creditors."

he met with a very unexpected treatment. For, thinking on nothing he could purchase that night, being so late, for his accommodation, but candle for light and a stool to sit on, till the next day, which he desired the jailor would please cause one of his servants bring him these for payment. And he, calling for one of them, bid him go fetch his wife, and she, after salutation, and drinking a glass of wine to the prisoner, said, "Sir, I am come to give you that compliment this night which I never did before to any prisoner, and that is, to convoy you to your chamber;" which was the only best room in the tolbooth, called Montrose's chamber, where the room was well and plentifully furnished, a good bed and chairs, fire, and a great candle on the table, several bottles of ale and brandy standing in a corner, wheat bread, and a great pigeon pye on a shelf, and coals laid in. When I asked how this came to be done; she answered, "It is a thing you must not inquire about for it was ordered to be done, under promise of secrecy, by one of the greatest ladies in Scotland."*

* It appears from the following notice, that Veitch had a number of warm friends in Edinburgh. "February 5, 1685. At Privy Council, James Row, George Mosman, and many others of the merchants of Edinburgh of the Presbyterian persuasion, are pursued; as also Anderson of Dowhill, Craigie of Dumbarnie, Oliphant of Condee, &c. as they who, since the last indemnity in August 1679, have frequented house or field conventicles, reseted fugitive ministers or other rebels; and particularly did contribute money to see if they could procure a remission from the

Griffith, the English lieutenant, came along with the prisoner, having an order from his Majesty to the Lords of the Treasury, to pay to Major Oglethorp or his order 200lib. sterling for taking him; but he only got 111lib. English. He went to several merchants in Edinburgh to return it, but none of them would; saying, it would spoil all their money.* Oglethorp would have come himself, but

king to Mr. William Veitch, a fanatic forfeited minister; *item*, to educate and breed up some young students in the Presbyterian form, to be a nursery to perpetuate and hold up the schism. Some redeemed themselves by offering to take the test; others escaped by taking the oaths of allegiance and prerogative, without any additions or limitations of their own, (which were all refused,) but as it is explained in the Assertory act, made in the parliament 1669, and which was expressly put to them. A third sort refused both, and so were committed to prison as disaffected to the government." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 338, 339.)

* The meaning appears to be, that Griffith got L.111 in English, and L.89 in Scottish coin, which last he wished to exchange for English, but that the merchants of Edinburgh refused this, on account of the badness of the money issued by government at that period. This last fact is established by a process before the Court of Session in 1682 and 1683, against Lord Halton (then Earl of Lauderdale) for malversations as late General of the Mint, " in making the fineness below the standard," &c. (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 184.) In Halton's defences, it was pleaded, *inter alia*, that he was discharged and pardoned by the general indemnity; for " this oblivion and indemnity in 1679 is more ample than any of them, being drawn in the most ample and comprehensive terms deviseable, as mainly designed to secure Lauderdale and his party for the Highland army that they sent in upon the West in 1678, &c. and *the pardoning the rebels who rose at Bothwell Bridge was but a sham and colour to draw on the other.*" The Lords sustained this plea, and, upon that ground, altered an interlocutor which they had already given in the cause; "*for after serious deliberation they*

was called back by an express from Berwick to London; and, coming to ask the prisoner what service he had for him there, he said there was one kindness he would beg if he would do him it, viz. that he would write a letter to Lauderdale, and inclose it to him by the post, if he would deliver it, which he frankly promised. Then said the prisoner, "You must order me paper, pen, and ink, that I may write it."—"Yes," said he, "but you must read it to the governor; and if he like it, seal it, and he will send it me." When the governor read it, he says, "Will you indeed send this to my lord? If so, your circumstances are not so bad as men think." But he, instead of sending it to London, sent it out to Colonel Strother; and they afterward sent it to the Major; but he delivered it not till several days after the prisoner had

durst not make too bold with the loosing of this act of indemnity." (Ibid. pp. 208, 209.)

It may be added, that the exchange of money between the two kingdoms was, at that time, a matter of considerable difficulty. A Mr. Mertin, sent in 1683 from the protestant lords at London to Scotland, brought an unsubscribed letter in the hand-writing of Jerviswood (who was then in England) to Lady Tarras, his niece, desiring her to transmit to him some money which he had left with her. This, at Mertin's desire, was given to Torwoodlee. "When Torwoodlie (says the Earl of Tarras, in his deposition on the trial of Sir John Cochrane, &c.) had gotten the money of Jerveswoods before spoaken off from my servant, he layd it by, and asked me, if it was in English money. I said, it was the same I supposed he had left at my house; he said, it was noe matter, he would send it to Will. Veitch who would have a cair to get English money for him." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 36, 37.)

been at Edinburgh, and written a second letter to Lauderdale mentioning that. When it came the Duke was in passion, and said, for any gentleman to promise to do a prisoner a kindness, and not to make it good, was a base and unbecoming treatment.*

On the 22d of February, 1679, he is brought before a committee of the council, whereof Sharp, the archbishop of St. Andrews, was preses. As he was coming along the pavement, the Earl of Mar's gentleman came to him from his master, desiring him to give the archbishop his titles;†

* It is gratifying to record instances of humanity in the rulers of that time. "*October* 5, 6, and 7, 1680.—Robert Curry, writer, being bound as cautioner, to present a man who was imprisoned upon suspicion as one of the rebels, but bailed by him to this council day; and the man being very sick and like to die, Robert, to exoner himself, did cause bring him from his own house, carried by five or six people on a bed, and brought him to the Privy Council doors, and took instruments on his presentation, to free himself. The Chancellor and Council took this rude and cruel usage of the poor sick man so ill, that they commanded Curry to prison, seeing he might, by a bill, have represented it, and got himself liberate." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 113.)

† The refusal of these had been severely resented. Mr. Alexander Smith, minister at Cowend, who had been driven from his charge in 1663, was brought before the High Commission Court "for preaching privately, and giving Bishop Sharp only *Sir*."—He was put in the thieves' hole with a madman; and, when the sympathy of the people of Edinburgh followed him there, the bishops caused remove him to another room where he sickened. He was then banished to Shetland, where, for four years, his only food was of barley, and his fuel sea-tangle. In 1667, he was

that would prove a likely mean to prevail with the bishop for his liberty. He, giving his service to the Earl, answered, that he resolved to act according to his light. The bishop put many questions to him, to see if he could ensnare him, which were urged by Paterson, the bishop of Edinburgh. One whereof was, "Have you taken the covenant?" He answered, "All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the Covenant, when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it." At which the whole company fell a laughing, which nettled the bishop. "But," says he, "did you never take the covenant since?" To which he replied, "I judge myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it." At which Paterson stood up and said, "My lord, you will get no good of this man; he's all for evasion. But," said he, "was not you at Pentland fight?" To which he replied, "If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was *alibi*;" having been all night and that morning at Edinburgh. Many other questions they posed him with; and Hugh Stevenson, the under clerk, wrote all.

Being put out a considerable time, he was called in, and the bishop said, "Hear your confession read."

brought before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, and ordered to Orkney. (Kirkton, 208, 209. Wod. i. 176, 280, 291.)

Many sentences they had interlined to make him a criminal, which, as he heard, he denied he had spoken such words, and refused to subscribe his confession when they desired him.* "What," says the bishop, "will you not subscribe your own confession?"—"Not I," said the prisoner, "except you write it *in mundo* without your additions;" at which they were like to be irritated. But my Lord Lithgow, sitting next the prisoner on the one side of the table, and Lundie, afterward Earl of Melford, (who had been influenced to favour him,) sitting upon the other side, speaks over to Lithgow; upon which he says to the archbishop, "My Lord St. Andrews, cause write it *in mundo* to the young man." So he was put out again, and it written over; and being called in, it was read over to him; and when laid before him to subscribe, he begged liberty to read it over himself before he could subscribe it, which was granted. They found nothing in it whereof to accuse him, so they remanded him to prison.† The archbishop did little more in public after that, being within a few days cut off at Magus Muir, as history will tell.

* A similar device was employed in the case of Mr. Gabriel Semple; but whether from the motive which he apprehended, or at the instigation of some friend who wished to bring him off, may admit of a doubt. (Wodrow, ii. 175.)

† On the 25th of February the Council appointed Mr. Veitch to be sent to the Bass, but it does not appear that this order was carried into execution. (Wodrow, ii. 6, 7.)

The next news was a letter from the King, to turn him over to the criminal court, and there to intimate an old illegal sentence of death unto him,* as the process registrate in their court-books will declare, and the best lawyers had done; for the testimony of the two witnesses did not agree. And whether the iniquity of the sentence was not attested by the omniscient and just Judge in the remarkable judgments that befell these witnesses, I leave to every judicious and sober reader. They were relations of one surname, viz. Mirrie,

* This sentence was pronounced on the 16th of August 1667. Previous to this, a query was moved to the Lords of Session, "Whether or not a person guilty of high treason may be pursued before the Justices, albeit they be absent and contumacious, so that the Justices, upon citation and sufficient probation and evidence, may pronounce sentence and doom of forfeiture, if the dittay be proven;" to which their Lordships, having considered the query, answered in the affirmative. But as strong doubts were entertained of the legality of this step, an act of Parliament was afterwards procured, ratifying and approving of the conduct of the Lord Advocate, Sir John Nisbet, and the process and sentence against Veitch and others, who were in the circumstances described in the above query. (Wodrow, i. 267, 268, App. p. 109, 110; Acts of Parliament of Scot. vii. 562.) On the 19th of July, 1690, the parliament declared, that "all sentences pronounced by the Justice Court, in absence, for perduellion, or any other crime, before the year 1669, were from the beginning null and void;" restored "all persons, or their representatives, so forefaulted by the Justices *in modum justitiæ*, and particularly the representatives of Muire of Caldwells, Ker of Kersland, and Mr. William Veatch, minister of the gospel;" and rescinded the act of parliament anno 1669, "in so far as it ratifies these forefaultures." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 199, 200.)

and tenants to Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, one of the Lords of this Justice Court, who took particular notice of the thing, and he himself declared they never did well after, one of them falling into murder, the other into adultery, upon which both fled, and were never heard of, their families broken and ruined. The murderer was since found and hanged at Edinburgh. Some said that he was taken that very day that Mr. Veitch was released by a sentence of banishment; and yet upon this sentence in absence must the prisoner die without granting him a new trial; and the 18th day of March is appointed for the sitting of the court, and the intimation thereof, viz. the sentence; but the perplexedness of the case occasions an adjournment until the 8th of April.*

The prisoner wrote to his friend Lauderdale; and some ladies obtained a letter from archbishop Paterson to the Duke in his favour; and his brother, Sir William, brought it open to the prisoner, and read it, being very well penned, directed to Dr. Hicks, his chaplain, to present, which the prisoner's messenger did at night; and, coming next morning for an answer, Hicks showed him a letter per post, forbidding him to deliver it; so he returned to Shaftesbury, and the bishop cheated the ladies.

* Several documents relating to this process will be found in the Appendix.

In the mean time the prisoner's case was represented to the Earl of Shaftesbury by his papers, a messenger, viz. Mr. Gilbert Elliot, * being sent therewith, containing the sentiments both of English and Scotch lawyers, all of them declaring the illegalness of the procedure against him in both kingdoms; as also a testimony of two justices of the peace in Northumberland, witnessing how long and how peaceably he had lived there. All which being patiently considered by that ju-

* Gilbert Elliot of Craigend, and afterwards of Minto and Headshaw, (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 342, xi. 259—261, 462, App. 129.) was, on the 16th of July, 1685, found guilty of treason, and forfeited, for being in arms with Argyle. In the process he is described as "writer in Edinburgh." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 366. Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 490, App. 44, &c. Wodrow, ii. 492, 493.) Having obtained the king's pardon, he applied, November 8, 1687, to be admitted an advocate, on which occasion the examinators "stumbled to meet with him, till he first shewed his remission, least it might infer converse against them." (Fount. Dec. i. 475.) At the Revolution, the act of his forfeiture was rescinded, he was created Sir Gilbert Elliot, was appointed clerk to the Privy Council, and had extensive practice as an advocate. (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 166, 211, 290; xi. 140.) On the 28th of June, 1705, he took his seat in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Minto. (Lord Hailes, Catalogue, p. 15.) Wodrow (ii. 493.) says, he was also one of the Lords of Justiciary.

When Lord Minto visited Dumfries, of which Mr. Veitch was minister after the Revolution, he always spent some time with his old friend, when their conversation often turned on the perils of their former life. On these occasions, his lordship was accustomed facetiously to say, "Ah! Willie, Willie; had it no' been for me, the pyets had been pyking your pate on the Nether Bow Port;" to which Veitch replied, "Ah! Gibbie, Gibbie, had it no' been for me, ye would ha'e been yet writting papers for a plack the page."

dicious and renowned patriot the Earl of Shaftesbury, he influences Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, with several other great persons, to join with him in petitioning the King for sending him back again to England to be tried there; and that because he was an English subject, having lived so long in the kingdom; that the laws were affronted in his removal, and this practice would make men expect little security from them; and that it was more expedient to liberate, preserve, and encourage protestant ministers, than to take their lives at such a juncture as this, when so horrid a popish plot is discovered for the ruin of the protestant interest, lest his Majesty should be thought a complier therewith.

Notwithstanding all the arguments made use of by these great persons for bringing him back to be tried in England, yet the King would by no means grant it. For the Duke of Monmouth (upon the King's saying that he thought by this time he would be execute, and deserved more deaths than one if his information was true,) said to his Majesty that he might yet be retrieved; but the King answered, "I have written with my own hand to execute him; and what I have written I have written." In this he acted like Pilate to the Jews. Upon this the Earl of Shaftesbury told his Majesty, that seeing the petition of so many of the greatest peers in England now standing before him, for a thing so just and equitable, could not be granted, the new parliament for in-

quiring into the popish plot was now sitting down; * and no person that they found guilty, presbyterian or other, should escape death, if the parliament would take his advice, and the lords now before the King; and then his Majesty should have pears for plumbs.

Upon this Shaftesbury sent his servant to Mr. Elliot, who was waiting on, to go to the Parliament door, and distribute to the members as they went in the doubles of these petitions; and the lords taking their leave of the King, followed after; and seeing the members standing here and there reading them, Shaftesbury asked their lordships what they were reading? When they told him, he answered, "O, my lords, is that the text? Come, I'll give you the sermon upon it;" and, so telling them the case of that minister as it stood in law, he influenced them to say, that if it be truly so, we'll pass an order immediately when we sit down for his remanding. Upon which one of the Tories (for the house then was made up of Tory, Whig, and Trimmer,) taking the petition in his hand, went instantly to the King, and telling all that he had heard from the Earl of Shaftesbury about that person, begged his Majesty to consider the thing; for this was not his sixteen years' old parliament, and he knew not what they would do; and it was dangerous for his Majesty,

* The Parliament met on the 6th of March, 1679. (Life of Lord Russel, i. 147.)

upon so mean an account, to set two kingdoms by the ears. Therefore he begged that he would presently send for Lauderdale to dispatch an express for Scotland to stop all procedure against the criminal, and he would report it to the lords to take them off their resolved measures; which was done. And, which is to be noted, this letter came to the hand of the Justice-General Tarbet, (he being providentially stopped by the Earl of Perth, who, at ten of the clock, took him up stairs again when he was coming to the court, and kept him till it was after eleven,) just as he was entering the Parliament close, where the Lord Tarbet stood and read it at great leisure; and then going through the throng, many standing in the pavement to see the issue of that business, and beholding the criminal's brother, Mr. John, called him and told, "Now I can give you better news of your brother than I could in the morning, when you were with me; for he has relinquished Lauderdale, and taken himself to Shaftesbury and the parliament of England; and they are like to bring him off, and I am going to dissolve the court." You may observe here how exactly this answered the prophetical letter he got at Berwick.

The prisoner's brother, and Mr. Thomas Rigg, his agent, ran like Cushi and Ahimaaz, who should first tell the prisoner the good news, which was very surprising to the prisoner, but not so much to his wife; for, though she often fell into

fits of weeping, yet she had interludes of hope, saying, " I am often thinking that this day will produce what I saw !"

This, indeed, gave the great stop to the rage of the persecutors, but the prisoner was not yet released, but still kept in close prison, which gave him ground to fear that the storm would return. And there fell out such things within a short time as increased these fears; such as the killing of the Bishop at Magus Moor, remarkable for the way of it, for the instruments that did it went out that morning from their houses with no such thought or design, for they had combined together that morning to be avenged upon one ——— Carmichael, who was put in conjunct Sheriff-Depute by the King's order to his council in Scotland, obtained by the archbishop, for the more vigorous, or rather rigorous, execution of their iniquitous laws, for compelling all to come to church and comply with the government.* Now this ——— Carmichael had ruined several families by taking their corn, cattle, and all they had from them, so that hearing he was to hunt in Coupar fields, they were resolved that day to be avenged on him; and while they were coming up the fields that day, toward the hunters, they from suspicion and fear, leaving the dogs, rode to Coupar for their safety. Upon which the pur-

* Proofs of the activity of the archbishop and his clergy, in stirring up the government to severe measures against the nonconformists, will be found in the Appendix.

suers turned aside toward Magus Moor, with an intention to dissipate themselves; and calling at a house for drink, the barnman came out to talk with them, (being it seems of their acquaintance) and said, "O, gentlemen, yonder is a prize for you; if you have missed the one, you may hit the other who is the cause of all your trouble. Bishop Sharp is just going by, and I see none riding with him but one servant, and you may easily do his business." Upon which it seems they resolved on the enterprize; only Hackston of Rathillet (who was afterward hanged, drawn, and quartered for the thing) would not go with them, telling them it would be thought revenge, for the bishop and he had fallen out but the other day about his teinds, so desired to be excused. The rest went on, and one of them riding faster than the rest stopped the coach, by cutting the harness. They shot several pistols at him while he was in the coach, at length pulling him out, Burley, a petty gentleman, one of these that had been so miserably spoiled and ruined, having a brazen blunderbuss charged with several musket bullets, fired it so near his breast, as that his gown, clothes, and shirt, were all burned: At which he fell down flat upon his face, and they thinking they had made a window through his body, and that he was undoubtedly killed, went away, leaving his daughter, who only was in the coach with him, crying beside him. But it happen-

ed that one of them being alighted on the far side of the coach to tie his girth, and hearing the daughter calling to the coachman to help up her father, for he was yet alive, rode after the party, and telling them the story, and that if he lived they would be worse than if they had killed him ; they turned back, and the foresaid Burley, as it is said, came up to him lying flat on his face on the ground, and putting his hat off with his foot, struck him on the head till his brains were seen ; at which giving a great cry he presently expired. They searched his pockets and found the King's letter empowering him and the Council to execute these cruelties ; as also a little purse in which they found two pistol bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of silk, bigger than an ordinary plumb, and a bit of parchment the breadth and length of one's finger, with two long words written upon it, which none could read ; the characters were like Hebrew or Chaldaic. These they brought with them, but meddled neither with his gold, money, or watch.*

* It is singular to observe how differently persons think and express themselves respecting deeds of assassination, according as the victim happens to be of their own party or of the opposite. Clarendon charges the parliamentary officers as guilty of murder in trying and shooting Sir Charles Lucas, who had, with his own hand, put some soldiers to death in cold blood, and engaged in an insurrection while a prisoner on parole. (History of Rebellion, v. 239, fol. edit. Brodie's History of the British Empire, iv. 146, 147.) But when he comes to relate the second

The council met upon the news, and it being shortly after his severe examination of Mr. Veitch, which made people talk that he designed his execution; it made the rumour go that he would be brought out and sacrificed to his ghost; which came to the prisoner's ears, and could not but occasion thoughtfulness thereanent.

The council sent two surgeons to view his

and successful attempt to assassinate the parliamentary officer, Colonel Rainsborough, "Mrs. Macaulay remarks, that Clarendon, to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul, unmanly deed." (Brodie, iv. 137; Clarendon, v. 245, 256.) The reader may consult Brodie (iv. 264.) for the account of the murder of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague, and Oldmixon (Critical Hist. i. 223.) for that of Ascham, resident for the parliament at Madrid, of whom Clarendon (who was then in Spain) speaks in a manner not very creditable to himself. The following letter of Lord Arlington, and the accompanying statement of a staunch cavalier, show that others besides Presbyterians can interpret divine judgments.

"*Whitehal, Septem.* 8. [16]64.—My Lord, The News Book will tell your Excellency a strange story of Lisle, the Usurper's keeper, which is in every word true; and the observation of it very well made, that God Almighty's justice would not let those villains go quietly to their grave." (Arlington's Letters, ii. p. 43.) "August the 21st, that notorious regicide Lisle, overtaken by divine vengeance at Lausanne, where the miserable wretch was shot dead by the gallantry of three Irish gentlemen, who attempted the surprisal of him and four more impious parricides." (Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 504, apud Biog. Brit. v. i. p. 3032, London, 1760.)—Speaking of Captain Manning, a spy of Cromwell, the author of *England's Triumph* (p. 52) says, "one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to orders) pistoled him; which, though it came far short of his desert, yet was not so well done, in sending the devil his due before his time, and wronging the hangman of his labour."

corpse and embalm them, at the desire of his brother Sir William Sharp, and to report upon oath the manner of his death, that they might have more legal grounds to pursue the murderers; which they did, and declared that they found about his back and shoulders the blue marks that the pistol bullets had made; his clothes burned off his breast, and a great deal of it blue; but in all these places the skin was not broken, so that the wound in his head only killed him. This occasioned a universal talk, that he had got proof from the devil against shot; and that the forementioned purse that he carried about with him contained the charm. His brother obtained liberty to erect over him a marble tomb in St. Andrews, and there it stands yet a monument for his infamy. I leave it to history to tell how his posterity and relations were brought low and extinct.

Another thing that gave an occasion of fear was, the falling out of that rising, called Bothwell-bridge, in May following. The occasion of it was—the laird of Claverhouse, afterward Earl of Dundee, coming on a Sabbath day to break a great conventicle upon a moor called Drumclog near Strathaven, was beaten by a party of the hearers, commanded by William Cleland, afterward made Lieutenant-Colonel to Angus's regiment, and killed at Dunkeld; a youth extra-

ordinary in warlike affairs and promising, a great philosopher, physician and divine, very sober and pious; whose loss was great in the very beginning of that happy revolution under the great King William.* They beat Claverhouse off the field, who sent an express that night to Edinburgh to acquaint my Lord Lithgow, then Major-General of the Forces; whose lodging being over against the prisoner's window, where the express came to give my lord the account after one of the clock at midnight; the post-horn winding, and the horse's feet making a noise alarming the prisoner, he arose, and lying over his window heard the post-boy tell the whole story to the sentry—that the Whigs had beaten Claverhouse, killed his fine horse, and several of his men, taken his standard, and that he was fled to Glasgow; and that they were following and would destroy my

* Colonel William Clelland was son to Thomas Clelland, gamekeeper to the Marquis of Douglas. (Wodrow, i. 524.) He was educated at St. Andrews, where he entered St. Salvador's College in 1676, and was matriculated on the 2d of March 1677. His regent's name was Mr. Edward Thomson. (Records of the University of St. Andrews.) Having, with his brother-in-law, Baillie Haddoway, accompanied Mr. Blackader to Fife in 1678, he showed his courage, particularly at Divan, in facing the troops which came to disturb their meetings, or to pillage the people on their dismission. (Crichton's Blackader, 211, 212, 213.) A collection of Poems and verses by Lieutenant-Colonel Clelland, was printed Anno Dom. 1697, in 12mo. They are chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, and discover considerable talent.

Lord Ross and Claverhouse, if Lithgow came not quickly to their relief.

The storm did increase by the gathering of the west country people, which so frightened the Court, that the Duke of Monmouth and several English forces came down from England to their assistance and the suppression of the Whigs. The prisoner wrote out a letter to Mr. David Hume and the other ministers there, sewed within the sole of a woman's shoe, who carried it and delivered it, intreating them, if by any means they could, to accommodate the matter upon any reasonable terms as quickly as possible, (the Duke of Monmouth intending tenderness for them) lest the divisions that were begun among them should expose them to greater ruin. But they not hitting it among themselves, ere they went to Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge, made it uneasy and unlikely to compound it with him; and so they were broke, and many brought in prisoners to Edinburgh.

It cannot be denied but Monmouth was as tender and careful to avoid blood-shed as possibly he could;* and obtained an universal indemnity

* "*November* 18, 1680.—At Privy Council, Greenhead, (Veitch's pupil) Chatto, and some other lairds of Teviotdale, being pursued for absence from the host at Bothwell, pleaded the General's (Monmouth's) licence or pass. The Council found that the General had no power to grant licence of absence till they had, by their appearance at their colours, put themselves under his command. Yet in

to all that had been there, and all other prisoners upon certain conditions, which severals, especially ministers, could not come up to. One of them was that the ministers should never preach without liberty given; and though the Duke, upon Shaftesbury's recommendation, inserted Mr. Veitch's name among the ministers that were to be liberated, when the roll was read before the Council table, Bishop Paterson rose up and opposed it; saying, he was brought from England upon other heads, and so cannot be comprehended here. It being put to a vote he was excluded.

From what is said, it may be seen what grounds of fear the prisoner had notwithstanding the foresaid stop; for now he saw no probable outgate. But what follows teaches us that man sees not as God seeth, for that which the enemy thought to destroy him by, viz. their instigating Lauderdale more violently against him, because he had taken himself to Monmouth and Shaftes-

regard "Monmouth was a stranger, they excused these gentlemen for this time, but would not sustain it hereafter. There was great ground to suspect their licences were obtained *ex post facto*." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 117.) Lady Melville produced to the Lords of Articles, a declaration under the hand of the Duke of Monmouth, warranting Lord Melville to send a messenger "to the rebells armie to Mr. John Welsh and Mr. David Home, and tell them from him that they might send a petition to the Duke of Monmouth, and that they might expect good conditions." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 57—59.)

bury's side, God's providence did work the contrary to what they purposed. For the Duke of Monmouth, seeing he could not deliver the prisoner, rose in a passion from the Council-table, telling the Chancellor and the rest, that, seeing they treated him so unkindly in excluding that person, he was now going post for London, and it should be the first business he would bow his knee to the king for.

Here it is to be considered that Shaftesbury, who was president of the Council of England, and his party, had sent down Monmouth to Scotland with a design to break Lauderdale's interest there; for which cause Lauderdale had a constant spy upon him while he was here, to see if he could find him trip in any piece of his management. Here likewise it is to be considered that Duke Hamilton and Lauderdale lying at this time by the ears at court, Lauderdale had by the King's order sent for several who had the trust under him in Scotland, for justifying his government, viz. the Lord Tarbet, Justice-General; old Stairs, President of the Session; Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate; the Lord Glendoick, Clerk-Register; and Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Justice-Clerk. * These persons were to answer Hamilton's grievances, and satisfy the King. The prisoner's case coming in among these, and these great persons among themselves dis-

* See Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 43.

coursing upon it, Stairs, who was the prisoner's underfriend always, though apparently an enemy, did demonstrate to them, that in law they could not justify the taking of the prisoner's life: Glendoick and the Justice-Clerk did second him, and so persuaded the rest to comply with their turning his sentence of death into banishment: and that it was fit they should jointly acquaint Lauderdale with their sentiments, that he and they might represent it to the King; which when they did, he told them it would not do well yet; the King being hot upon it, and stirred up thereto by the Duke of York, and he by the priests in Northumberland, where the prisoner had been a preacher, his Majesty behoved to have some weeks for cooling and putting it out of his mind, and then they would do it. All this was done, as my Lord Stairs told the prisoner some years after in Holland, before Monmouth was sent to Scotland, but was kept secret among themselves, and not as yet made known to the King.

But the good providence of God put an unexpected opportunity in their hand; for my Lord Stairs, as he afterwards told him, having the draught of the prisoner's sentence of banishment in his pocket for several weeks together, which was consented to by the rest, waiting the season of the King's being in an humour for that effect; he happened to visit Lauderdale that week Mon-

mouth took post from Scotland, and that his spy* had sent him an account what Monmouth had said when he rose from the council table toward the relief of the prisoner as soon as he saw the King; and Lauderdale giving this letter to Stairs to read, he says, "Now, my lord, Monmouth is upon his way, and is like to relieve this prisoner. I think it were best for your lordship to send for the King's Advocate, and the rest of the lords who are here, and we will get this sentence of banishment out of the kingdom past upon him before Monmouth come up; and if the King have any scruple about it, his advocate and the other lords will clear him thereanent. This will be for our credit, and stop the mouths of all in Scotland who reflect on our severity; and if he come and do it, the dirt will lie upon us." To which Lauderdale replies, "On my conscience we will do it, and Monmouth shall not have the honour and credit of it. We'll send for the lords instantly, and tell the King a new story that will make him do it;" which they did; the King superscribing and Lauderdale subscribing the new sentence; and also an order from the King to his Council, to put the same in execution upon

* This statement, so far as it relates to the watch set on Monmouth's conduct during the time he was in Scotland, is confirmed by Sir John Reresby's account of his interview with him at Doncaster on his return to London. (Memoirs, p. 97.)

sight. My lord Stairs sends for Mr. Elliot, the prisoner's agent, and delivers it to him.

At this time was there also an order granted for the relieving Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart out of the Castle of Stirling, and a third for removing the sentence of James Stewart, that so he might appear in public again. The three agents thinking it was too expensive for all of them to ride post, they cast lots which of the three should do it, and it fell upon Polwart's agent, a Merse gentleman, who came by Mr. John Veitch, and bringing him in with him, they went to the Chancellor Rothes, who called the council, wherein they past an order to the lords of Justiciary to call the prisoner before them, and intimate the new sentence, which they did next day, and so he was released.*

This deliverance was very remarkable, if we consider that it was done by Lauderdale out of a

* "*July* 28, 1679.—Mr. William Veitch, who had been forfeit in absence for being in the rebellion in 1666, and many ministers who were in prison, were all liberated by virtue of the King's pardon, indulgence and indemnity; and if Mr. William had been reponed to his defences, or needed them, it was alleged the decreet of forfeiture pronounced against him, upon a probation taken in absence of his being in the Pentland rebellion 1666, had a material nullity; viz. that the executor of the ditty of treason, and the witnesses were not sworn in Court upon the truth of the execution. 2do, The ditty was not executed at his dwelling-house, which he had before the said rebellion and rising in arms."—In the case of Macdowall of Freuch and others, 9th February 1680, "the witnesses to the execution were sworn." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 54, 83.)

mere antipathy to Monmouth, which pushed him on, not only to do it, but to do it before he should reach the Court; and also upon this account, that Monmouth, though he undertook fair, yet he could never have done it; yet that brisk undertaking was the spring that moved them to do it. For Monmouth was never admitted to the court,* York and Lauderdale having prevailed with the King to debar him and order him to go abroad out of the kingdom; so that if this had not fallen out, the prisoner in all likelihood had perished; therefore he ought to admire, and cry out as long as he lives, "O the depth of the wisdom, mercy, and goodness of God! his thoughts are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out!" Next, if we will consider that the sufferer had not only the enemies to that interest in one kingdom, but in both to grapple with. In the third place, if we consider how eagerly, and withal treach-

* This statement is not altogether correct; for Monmouth appears to have had several interviews with the King, after he returned from Scotland. (Burnet, History of his own Times, ii. 269, 270.) He left Edinburgh on the 6th July, was at Windsor on the 11th, and on the 29th, the King, "for that great trust that he reposes in his entirely beloved cousin and Counsellor, James, Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth," grants a Commission to him to be Captain General of all the Forces in Scotland. (Wodrow, ii. 73, 79, app. 39.) This was withdrawn in September, after the Duke of York's arrival from the Continent, on occasion of the King's real or pretended illness. (Wodrow, ii. 99; Carte's Ormond, ii. 493, 494.)

erously, the prelates sought his life; an instance whereof Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, gave, (as formerly mentioned) when the prisoner's blood was laid at his door by some worthy ladies, being the person that appeared most against him. He, to take off the odium, writes a very plain and urgent letter to Lauderdale's chaplain, Dr. Hicks, to show his lord in the prisoner's favour. He sends it up to the prison with his brother Sir William, and reads it to the prisoner and his friends, and seals the same, delivering it to him to give his agent, who was taking post for London; and, in the mean time, by the public post, writes a contrary one, discharging him to show it, as the agent at his arrival discovered.* And, lastly, if we consider how highly they incensed the King by their misinformations, so that he wrote down three several letters with his own hand to the criminal lords to dispatch him, as can be made good. Now, that after all this he should escape, and that by a letter from the King ordering to release him, as has been said, is such a thing as will not find many parallels in history.

Besides all the other troubles which attended him and his family through the forfeitry and giving away of what they had in Scotland, and the

* Other instances of such conduct, on the part of the clergy of that time, may be seen in Wodrow, ii. 458, 513, 514.

many removings from place to place occasioned by the prelates and their abettors, this sore trial involved him in great debt, being so expensive a business every way. It is well known also that it was the Lord's blessing other means that he was necessitated to follow for the maintenance of his family, being in a poor country side, that kept them together; for what the people gave was never able to do it; and it was his wife's observation, that things came never in so plentifully, nor went so far, as when they had most strangers; their house being a resting and refreshing place for the wandering and weather-beaten flock of Christ.

His return home to his dwelling house in England made glad his friends, and more than formerly galled his adversaries, so that Daniel Collingwood, Esquire,* and Justice of the Peace, in a meeting at Morpeth with Sir John Fenwick and others, would needs have him taken again, had they not put him off, which debate occasioned a friend immediately to write to Mr. Veitch, and advise him to retire for a season; there being little access to redress such irregularities as

* This gentleman obtains a place in Andrew Marvell's list of labourers in parliament, in the design of popery and arbitrary power. "*Berwick.* Daniel Collingwood, Esquire, a court janizary; a pensioner of L.300 per annum, Governor of Holy Island. (Marvell's Works, ii. 571.) In 1679, he was member for Morpeth. (Hutchinson's North. ii. 294.)

they might commit. Upon which information he withdrew a considerable time, and after his return made his acquaintance more westward in the English borders, where he frequently preached, viz. Keilderhead, Wheel-causeway, Dead-water, &c. What wonderful success the preaching of the word has had, by ministers retiring thither under persecution, in order to the repressing, yea almost extinguishing these feuds, thefts, and robberies, that were then so natural to that place and people, is worth a singular and serious observation. These news ought to be matter of joy and thanksgiving to all the truly godly in Britain, that though the ark, the glory and goings of our God, be, alas! too, too much removed from Shiloh, Ephratah, the ingrounds, the places of greater outward plenty and pleasure, yet that he is to be found in the borders of those lands, in the mountains and fields of the woods. Some of the gentry on both sides of the borders commissionate to repress such enormities, have been forced both to see and say, that the Gospel has done that which their most severe execution of the laws could never accomplish. And is not such a change worthy a remark? to see a people who used to ride unweariedly through the long winter nights to steal and drive away the prize, now, upon the report of a sermon, come from far, travelling all night to hear the Gospel; yea, some bringing their children along with them to the ordinance of

baptism, although the landlord threaten to eject the tenant, and the master the servant for so doing.*

Mr. Veitch having returned home again, by a sentence of banishment, to his family and friends, and resolving to carry on his ministerial work at Stantonhall, as he did formerly, is forced, as has

* The parishes of Rothbury, Bolam, and Longhorsley, in which Veitch had resided, bordered upon Redesdale and Tynedale, those rude districts of which Bishop Carleton, in his Life of Bernard Gilpin says, " the word of God was never heard of to be preached amongst them, but by the ministry of Gilpin." (Surtees' Durham, vol. i. P. i. 166, 167.) In 1776 Hutchinson writes, " The church of Symondburn has two dependant chapels, Bellingham and Falston; the parish is between thirty and forty miles in length, extending to Liddesdale, in Scotland. There is within this district, between Falston and the extreme boundary, an extensive tract of country where, till the last century, conversion had scarce reached, or the benefits of religion, and the rites of the English church been promulgated, except in the collection of tithes. (Tour in Northumberland, i. 215.) Surtees calls it " the wealthy church of Simonburn." Durham, vol. i. P. i. p. xliv.) Mr. Gabriel Semple, accounting for his quiet possession of Ford church for some years after Pentland, says, " these borderers were looked upon to be ignorant, barbarous, and debauched with all sort of wickedness, that none thought it worthy their consideration to look after them, thinking that they could not be brought to any reformation. Yet in the Lord's infinite mercy, the preaching to these borderers had more fruit than in many places that was more civilized." (Semple's Life, pp. 51, 52, MS. *penes* the Reverend Dr. Lee, Edinburgh.) From a Jacobite account of the proceedings of the General Assembly 1690, it appears that the people from twelve parishes on the borders of Northumberland, made application for the continuance of Mr. Gabriel Semple with them; pleading that he had taken compassion on them in their blood, and been twenty-four years among them. (Historical Relation of the General Assembly, 1690, p. 45, 46.)

been just hinted, by the malicious designs of the justices of the peace, and others of that kidney in the country, who were resolved to take him right or wrong, to retire into the western borders, where he exercised his ministry to the people of both sides of the borders, Scots and English; keeping always the place of meeting upon the English ground, for fear of the Scotch forces, who were sent to Teviotdale, under the command of Meldrum and others, who much haunted Teviotdale and the Merse, to break all meetings upon the Scotch side.

It is worthy our noticing, that among other things that gave occasion to the sending of these forces, was some reflections that were cast in Lauderdale's teeth; that though he had made an act of Parliament* for punishing all the landlords upon whose grounds meetings should be kept, yet it proved for several years ineffectual. And it happened at the time of the making of that act, that Mr. Veitch being at Hume, meeting with several preachers of the fields, and several other gentlemen to whom the news of that act was sent out, after several of that meeting had given their

* I suspect it should be *Act of Council*, April 26, 1676, which extended the provisions of a proclamation of the 8th April 1669 to the whole kingdom, ordaining "all heritors to be liable to the fines above specified, (L.50 sterling, *toties quoties*) in case any conventicle be kept on the ground of their lands, or in houses belonging to them." (Wodrow, i. 419; comp. p. 300.)

sentiment of it, thinking it would effectually break all meetings, and were lamenting the sad providence, they asked Mr. Veitch, what he thought proper to be done in this case. His judgment was, seeing Lauderdale had been the author of such a malicious act, the best requital he thought could be given, was to set up public field meetings in his bounds. They all liked the overture well, but were at a strait to find one that would venture to begin, and bell the cat (as we used to say); and so fell upon importuning him to do it, seeing he lived in another country for the present. After their refusal of several excuses he made, "Well," says he, "gentlemen, if you be so unanimous and forward for the thing, seeing I proposed it, upon the condition ye will keep it up as far as possible, I will venture to set it up Sabbath next, at the Blue Cairn in Lauder moor;* and you may warn them if you please from Dan to Beersheba to be there." And the meeting that day, at that place, was computed to be above four thousand hearers; and it was so visibly blessed of God, that it raised a spirit of zeal and forwardness both in ministers and people

* "In this district [of Roxburghshire, between the Gala and the Leader] about four miles northward of the Tweed, there is a remarkable object called *The Blue Cairn,* from the colour of the stones. A large space which is sufficient to contain many persons, is completely enclosed, and may be said to be fortified by a natural rampart of stones." (Miln's Melros, p. 67, 68, *apud* Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 70.)

in that country; both to keep up that meeting, and set up several others in the Merse and Tiviotdale, to the great advantage of religion for many years. And Mr. Veitch promised at that time, that, before that meeting should fall, upon their acquainting of him, he would come and help them to support it, which he frequently did. And it is a step of providence worth the observation, that after King William's happy Revolution, he was the first minister appointed to preach at Lauder church, (being appointed by the council, and by the great and good Earl of Crawford personally, to go and declare it vacant) where there was a vast confluence of people met upon the report of it to see the happy change; but the lady Lauderdale hearing of it, caused neidnail * all the church doors and windows, that there might be no access for such ministers. In this posture Mr. Veitch found the church when he came, the lady and the magistrates of the town all retired, so that he could find no magistrate to open the church doors. When he was in this strait, several of his old hearers sent him word quietly that they would make open doors if he would allow them, which he did. And so, in the bringing the ark from Ephratah—from the fields of the wood, into the church and house of God, the pro-

* Fasten with nails.

per seat of it, it proved such a day of weeping and singing as the like had not been seen heretofore; the minister lecturing and preaching upon the 132nd Psalm, and the text he preached upon was, verse 8. "Arise, O Lord, into thy rest."

This meeting at the Blue Cairn, after several years, and the importunity of the godly people about Berwick and the east-end of the Merse, was removed to Fogo-moor for their better conveniency; and Mr. Veitch was sent for out of England to do it, which, at the importunity of the people, he did. His lecture and preaching was upon the 102nd Psalm, especially these words, "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time, even the set time, to favour her is come." It was a great and good day, as the auditory witnessed. It was the first day and it was the last day of meeting in that place; for that very evening, several of the forces, both horse and foot, by special orders, came from Haddington through Lammermoor, and fell in upon Gordon and Hume, and the places about; searching all night to find Mr. Veitch, who very strangely and providentially escaped them by James Hume of Flass's*

* James Home of Flass was a Commissioner of militia in 1689, and Commissioner of supply in 1690, for the shire of Berwick.—"*May* 17*th* 1689, The Committee of Estates, doe give warrand to James Home of Flasse, with the commanding officer of the troop, to muster the horsemen ordered to be raised out of

carrying of him that night in the dark to the old lady Stitchell's at her house in Coongecarle,* which the troopers passed by, upon the information that she was an old weakly gentlewoman.

Lauderdale being then in Scotland, and incensed that the meetings should have been so frequently kept upon his ground, inquired at the south-country gentry, when they came to see him, what minister it was that set it up first, resolving to make him an example. Many of the gentry shifted to tell him; but Sir Alexander Don, not out of any dislike but mere heedlessness, told it was Mr. William Veitch. "Was it so?" said my lord; "My own relation! I'll think upon him." And indeed he did so; for it made him cause search England diligently for him; and stirred him up vigorously to pursue when he was sent prisoner to Scotland. This piece of the history, you see, did precede his being taken and sent into Scotland.

the shire of Berwick, upon Tuesday next at Dunce." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. app. p. 31.)

* Robert Pringle of Stitchell, who died in 1649, left a widow, whom his son, Walter Pringle of Greenknow, in 1664, calls his *aged mother*. Walter's elder brother, John Pringle, *fiar* of Stitchell, who died before his father about 1647, appears also to have left a widow. (Pringle's Memoirs, pp. 11, 14, 52.) *Oct.* 28, 1651. Robert Pringle of Stitchell is retoured heir of his father, John Pringle feodatary de Stitchell in *Coningcarle*, in dominio de Stitchell. (Inquis. Retorn. Roxb. 201.)

Another thing remarkable after Mr. Veitch returned by a sentence of banishment, and preached upon the borders, was his going to Berwick, upon a line from his friend Mr. Temple, a merchant there, chiding him for his unkindness in not coming to give the good people of that place * thanks for their great kindness while he was pri-

* "Sept. 20, 1684, by an order from the king, there is a search made in Berwick for Polwart, Mr. James Daes, and other Scots fugitives residing there; but they had advertisement of it beforehand. There was also a *quo warranto* issued out at the king's attorney's instance against the charter of Berwick, as forfeit by this misdemeanour of resetting, and also because they had refused to surrender, as many burrows and corporations had done. But the king's difficulty lay in this, that, by a clause in their charter, they can only be judged by an inquest of twelve burgesses of their own town: Yet, in Nov. 1684, having debarred sundry of the Whig party by excommunication, for not keeping the church, they, by a vote, surrendered their charter to the king." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 304.) Dec. 8, 1688, York and Berwick declared for a free parliament. (Lady Russel's Letters, p. 187.)

"*Circuit Court, Dunse, Sept.* 29, 1684.—The Lords being informed, by depositions, &c. that several rebels and fugitives were reset in the major's house of Berwick, resolved to write to the committee."—"*Jedburgh, 11th October,* 1684.—Upon a letter from the governor of Berwick, signifying that he was informit Polwart had not made his escape as yet, and that the minister of the said paroch could give notice thereof, the lords ordered the minister of the said kirk to be cited before them; who compearing, deponed, that he had not seen Polwart since his escape and the search made for him, and that he knew not where he was or could be found." (Minutes of Circuit Court for Berwickshire, &c.)—Polwart left his concealment in his own house about the time of Morpeth Fair, a few days after Jerviswood's execution. (Lady Murray's Memoirs, p. 41, 42.) Jerviswood was executed on the 24th December, 1684.

soner there. It happened to be at the time when the Earl of Argyle escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh. The news of which running through the town by an express, some officers who had read it at the post-house, coming along by Mr. Robert Watson's gates, where Mr. Veitch was taking his leave of him and his lady, and perceiving him to be in town, turned back to the post-house, where the governor was, telling him that such a one was in town, and he might have a hand in Argyle's escape, which was worthy the governor's consideration. They unanimously concluded that it was fit for them, in the first place, to double the guards; and then to go to the mayor to get a warrant to search.

In the mean time, Mr. Veitch, knowing nothing of the news, or of their resolutions, went confidently along the street to his lodgings, in order to his going out of town homeward, in company with Mr. Temple, his landlord. They see the mayor, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Temple, going up street to his house a little before them; upon which Mr. Temple says, "Yonder is the mayor going to repay your visit yesternight, and take his leave of you." When we came into the hall where Mr. Lowk, the mayor,* was standing,

* 1677 and 1679, commissioners of supply for the burroughe of Berwicke-upon-Tweede: John Lucke, maior for the time being, Daniel Collingwood, Sir John Fenwicke, Robert Watson, &c.

he says, " Mr. Veitch, I'm come to tell you great and strange news: the Earl of Argyle is escaped out of Edinburgh Castle, and it's thought he is either for his own Highlands or London." Mr. Veitch smiling at it as a mere story, says he, " You need not doubt it, for I have read the express just now at the post-house."

The main guard was just over against that lodging, and the drums beating hard, the mayor says, " Let us go up stairs and see what the matter means." He opening the casement, one tells him that it was for doubling the guards. He, still looking out, perceives the governor, and the officers, with an additional party of guards, coming up. The governor comes from them to a barber's shop that a soldier kept, belonging to Mr. Temple, and inquires at him, if Mr. Veitch lodged in that house. He declared, he knew nothing of it. " Well," says he, " hold your peace." The fellow, when he is gone, pulling to his half-door, and going down street, comes about to a back entry of Mr. Temple's house, and calling him down tells him the story. At which Mr. Temple comes quickly up stairs, and acquaints us, that all this was a-doing to secure the town, in order to the searching for Mr. Veitch and Argyle, if he was with him. At which the mayor, like one in a

John Lucke and Robert Watson were also commisioners in 1688–9, and 1690. (Statutes of the Realm, v. 819, 915; vi. 41, 121, 199.)

surprise, without speaking one word, hastens down stairs, and goes home, thinking they would presently be at him for a warrant, which he could not give without two justices, according to the law of the place. One of them he knew was gone for Newcastle; he sends his boy to the other, desiring him, in all kindness, quickly to go out of town, and not to return that night. The boy was not well come back, when the governor and officers came to the mayor, requiring a warrant. "O," says he, "by all means;" and calling his boy, "Run," says he, "for these two justices, and bring them hither quickly." The boy after a space returning, told they were both out of town, and would not be in till to-morrow. "Well," says the mayor to the governor, "you know I can give you no warrant till they come; and you, having doubled the guards, may secure all till then."

In the mean time, Mr. Temple carried Mr. Veitch through back-ways to the curate's beadle's house, where the wife being phanatick undertook to secure him; and he dined with one skipper Mitchel, who had a great tobacco ship lying over against one of the gates of the town walls; and had liberty from the mayor and governor that the gate might not be shut as the rest until ten of the clock at night. Betwixt two and three of the clock in the afternoon, Mr. Mayor comes in surprisingly upon Mr. Veitch, bringing some

bottles of wine with him; and, his man being put out of the room, telling him all he had done for his security, drinks a glass to his safe delivery, and says, smilingly, "I can do no more for you, but commit you to your phanatick friends:" and so takes his leave. Mr. Veitch desires him to send Samuel Shell, the town solicitor, to him, which he did; and he being Mr. Veitch's acquaintance formerly at London, was very careful to do him service, and told him that this night, his brother, the town-clerk, had a child to be buried with torches, where all the leading persons who were his friends in town would be; and there they would consult the best way of his escape, which they did; causing two honest boatmen lay their boat to the off-side of the tobacco-ship fore-mentioned, betwixt seven and eight of the clock at night; and two merchants, when they knew all was ready, went out at that gate talking about the cargo-buying, to blind the two sentries that stood upon the wall above the door head: and finding no difficulty, came back and took Mr. Veitch and put him in the ship's boat, which the skipper had laid at the key, which carried him out to the far side of the ship, and put him in the other boat, which landed him in Tweedmouth, where he had left his horse and riding gear, and getting two friends there, they accompanied him six miles to Mr. Luke Ogle's

house,* the outed minister of Berwick, who laughed heartily at the story. It being Thursday's night, he engaged him to stay till the Sabbath was over, and perform an old promise to Ittall† and his lady, giving them a Sabbath day's sermon, to which he assented.

But going to bed after this confusion and weariness, and falling asleep, he dreamed that his house at Stanton hall, more than thirty miles off that place, was all on fire, which made him awake with great consternation and trouble of mind, and think of altering his resolution, and taking his journey home to-morrow morning, wishing it were near rising time that he might go. But hearing the clock strike two in the morning, and that it was not seasonable to trouble the house till six of the clock, he fell asleep, and dreaming the same over

* Probably at Bousden, where Mr. Ogle had a property, to which he retired when expelled from Berwick. His ejection from that place at the Restoration, and his imprisonment along with Mr. Henry Erskine in 1685, have been already mentioned. (See above, pp. 60, 74.) He was called to the parish of Langton in the Merse during the Scotch indulgence in 1679, but this being quickly withdrawn, he had returned to his old retreat. Upon King James's toleration he was invited again to Berwick, and fixing there had a numerous congregation. In King William's time he had calls both from Kelso and Edinburgh, but could not be prevailed on to leave Berwick, "where God had signally supported, and owned and blessed him. There he lived beloved, and died much lamented in April 1696, aged sixty-six." (Non-conformist's Memorial, ii. 244, 246, 253.) He is very affectionately mentioned by Walter Pringle of Greenknow, (Memoir, p. 12.)

† Mr. Gabriel Semple married, as his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Ker of Itall.

again, and awaking all in a sweat, took the doubling of the dream to be a clear call to go home, which next morning he did, making his apology to Mr. Ogle, and telling him his dream, (which he said was like one of his maggots) and desiring him to excuse him at the laird and lady's hands. It being a violent frost, and the day short,* he could not ride above twenty miles, so that the next day being Saturday, it was near night ere he got home.

About a mile and a half from his own house, as he was going up a lane, he sees two men and three fine horses meeting him. The foremost of whom, when he perceived who it was, came riding fast up to him, (it was Torwoodlee's man,) saying, "O, Sir, you are long looked for at your house;" which made him ask, "What is the matter? is my wife and family well?" "Yes," says he, "but there is a stranger longs to see you, viz. Argyle;† and your wife and he have been send-

* It was the 23d of December.

† Previously to the fact for which the Earl of Argyle was brought to trial, the Duke of York and his party had testified their hostile intentions towards him, both on his father's account and his own well-known zeal for the protestant religion. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 151. Wodrow, ii. 205.) On this account some of his friends had urged him to retire into private life; but, trusting in his loyalty and innocence, he refused to comply with their advice. (Paper by Andrew Donaldson, Wodrow MSS. lxxv. art. 10, Adv. Library.) When called in, as a member of privy council, to take that self-contradictory oath, the Test, he declared that he "did take it as far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion; and that he meant not to bind up himself, in his station, and in a

ing about the country these two days to find you." Then he saw that the dream was a clear call to bring him home.

After their meeting, and talking about matters, Mr. Veitch, with his wife's consent, who was then near her time, undertook to do his best for bringing him safe to London, and advised to send his two servants to-morrow morning, being the Sabbath, to Newcastle, to stay there until farther orders.

lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration he thought to the advantage of the church and state, not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. App. p. 47; comp. Wodrow, ii. 206, 207.) For refusing to retract this declaration, so honourable to him as a protestant and a patriot, he was immediately deprived of all his offices; upon which, (says Lord Fountainhall,) "he, with great magnanimity, firmness, and constancy of spirit, answered, 'Seeing he could not serve his Majesty and the royal family any more in his counsels within doors, he should never be wanting to do them all the service in his power without doors.'" (Decis. i. p. 160.) But, determined to put his loyalty to a still severer test, the government brought him to trial for the above declaration; and, on the 13th of December, 1681, he was found guilty of *treason!* "There was a great outcry against the Criminal Judges, their timorous dishonesty. The Marquis of Montrose was chancellor of his assize. Sir George Lockhart called it lucrative treason, to the advantage of church and state; and admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for saying, he would endeavour all amendment he can to the advantage of church and state." Even those who thought the words deserved some lesser punishment, called it "diabolical alchemy to screw them into treason." (Ibid. i. 166.) "*December* 20, 1681. This evening, about nine o'clock at night, the Earl of Argyle, fearing his life might be taken, escaped out of the Castle of Edinburgh under the disguise of a page, and holding up the train

He took Argyle, now called Mr. Hope, in disguise, along with him to Millburn Grange,* where he was to preach all that Sabbath day. On Monday morning he took him to a friend's house between Newcastle and Newburn, where he left him, until he went on to Newcastle and bought three horses for him and his two servants, which

of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter, and sister to the Earl of Balcarhouse." (Ibid. p. 167.) On the 23d of December, the criminal court pronounced sentence of death against him. (Ibid. Wodrow, ii. 214.) Lord Halifax told Charles II. that "he understood not the Scotch law, but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime." (Fountainhall's Diary, p. 21.) Both Charles and his brother endeavoured afterwards to excuse their conduct in this affair. The latter pleaded, as his reason for refusing the intercession of Lauderdale in behalf of Argyle, "that he would not be diverted, to make friends for himself, from pursuing the king's interest." Charles, on the other hand, thought fit to issue out a proclamation for apprehending my lord Argyle, "that, if it missed his person, it might convince the world, at least, he was satisfied with the Duke's management." (Life of King James II.) "What an affecting picture of brotherly love!" says Lord John Russel. (Life of Lord William Russel, ii. 15.)

On escaping from the castle, Argyle, by the direction of Mr. John Scot, minister of Hawick, rode straight to the house of Pringle of Torwoodlee, who sent his servant along with him to conduct him to Mr. Veitch. (Wodrow, ii. 212, 490.)

* In August 1684, Mr. Robert Leaver, ejected from Bolam, the parish in which Harnam is situated, "was apprehended at his inn in Gateshead, for being the preacher at a conventicle at *Mr. George Horsley's of Millburn Grange*, a gentleman of family and fortune, who spared neither his pains, nor purse, nor person, to serve the interest of religion among the despised nonconformists, and was a considerable sufferer, paid £60 for two sermons preached at his house in one day, by Mr. Owen and Mr. Leaver." (Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 247.)

cost him about £27 Sterling, which Mr. Veitch paid out of his own pocket, finding Mr. Hope scarce of money. Having done this, he ordered Mr. Hope's two servants to go to a change-house in the way to Leeds, seventeen miles from Newcastle; and he and Mr. Hope crossed Tyne at Newburn, and went to a by-inn over against Durham. They called next day for the servants, and took them along. On Thursday night they came to Leeds, where Mr. Veitch was well acquainted. The next day they went toward Roderam, thinking to lodge four or five miles beyond it that night; but the day being very rainy, and he complaining he was wet to the skin, and seeing we must needs take up at Roderam, we resolved to take the post-house, as least suspected, rather than a by-inn.

We were not well in our chamber, and had got some faggots to dry us, when a liveryman, well mounted, and calling for the hostler, asked briskly, "Came there not here some gentlemen shortly?" which put us all in fear. But, after inquiry, it was some gentleman's servant, who, having seen us before them upon the road, and, thinking we might call at the post-house and take up the best rooms, had sent this fellow to see. Mr. Veitch, calling for a flagon of ale and a bottle of wine, and some bread, called for the landlord and landlady to drink with them, and talked a little, asking for several gentry in the coun-

try, how far they lived from that place, telling them that they were relations to some of his neighbour gentry in Northumberland. This he did, that the landlord and landlady might know they were Englishmen, which happened well; for while we were at supper, the postboy, coming in from Doncaster, gave his master a letter from that postmaster; which after he had read, he at length reached it up to the table-head to Mr. Veitch, who was sitting there as the chief gentleman of the company, having Argyle's page, now in disguise, standing at his back. After Mr. Veitch had read it at great leisure, he was almost nonplussed what to think or say: for the narrative of the letter was to tell, that Argyle was escaped out of the castle, and that there was £500 Sterling bid for him, whosoever should apprehend him. "If you find him," [said the postmaster in his letter] "and apprehend him in your road, let me go snips with you; and if I find him, you shall go snips with me." He [Mr. Veitch] broke out by way of laughter, and said, "Mr. Hope, here are admirable good news for you and me. The Earl of Argyle is escaped, by these news; we that are travelling southward may come to hit upon him; for if he be come to England, he will readily take byways, and if we hit upon him, £500 reward will do us good service: only I fear he ride much these moonlight mornings. I could find in my heart to give my landlord a bottle of sack, to let his hostler direct us early in

the way to Clown, and I promise him, if we find the prize he shall share of the reward." To which the landlord replied, "The hostler is at your honour's service." So Mr. Veitch called for a bottle of sack to drink to their good success. They went early in the morning away, and searched the house, but found not one lodger. Ere they came to Clown they dismissed the hostler, and breakfasted at that place. After which Mr. Veitch sent the servants to the Plume of Feathers at Nottingham, and set Argyle upon the horse that carried the cloak-bag. So they rode that Saturday's night to Mr. Willis's house at Glapwell,* and staid there till Monday. It was one of Mr. Veitch's haunts, and he preached all the Sabbath to the meeting.

In the mean time Mr. Veitch, thinking upon the alarm given, and that things looked more dangerous and difficult like, he thought fit to advise with an honest old Oliverian captain, Lockyer,† (one of Colonel Blood's‡ complices at that time,)

* Glapwell is in the parish of Bolsover, Derbyshire. Clown is a parish in the same county. (Pilkington's Derbyshire, vol. ii. p. 361, 365.)

† See Kennet's Chronicle, p. 116.

‡ Colonel Blood is a character too extraordinary to be discussed in the confined limits of a note. In the singular circumstances in which persons are placed in the convulsions of civil discord, we need not be surprised at inconsistencies, real or apparent, in the conduct of men whose character in the ordinary course of affairs had been unimpeachable. Many actors in such scenes stand in

about their safe getting to London, who generously offered to conduct my Lord Argyle safely

need of the liberal treatment which Cromwell receives at the hand of the celebrated Edmund Burke. "Cromwell," says he, "was a man in whom ambition had not wholly suppressed, but only suspended the sentiments of religion, and the love, as far as it could consist with his designs, of fair and honourable reputation.—The country was nearly as well in his hands as in those of Charles II. and in some points much better. The laws in general had their course, and were admirably administered." (Works, vi. 14, 15, edit. 1809.)

Thomas Blood had fought, during the civil war, under the standard of Charles I. After the ruin of the royal cause, falling in, on his way to Ireland, his native country, with some of the presbyterian ministers in Lancashire, who were then writing against the violence which the sectarian army had done to the king and parliament, he became a convert to their views. He lived in Ireland quietly, and performed the duty of a justice of peace with great approbation, till the Restoration, when the government having forfeited the pledge which it gave in the declaration from Breda, he took an active part in a conspiracy, formed by some members of parliament, and others, who had been deprived of their lands. (See their Declaration in the Appendix.) On the discovery of this plot, he made his escape to England, where he contrived to live unknown as a medical practitioner, under the assumed names of Dr. Allan, Dr. Clarke, &c. When he was in this situation, his daring resolution was displayed by the rescue of a Captain Mason, who was on his way to York to stand trial. It has been said, but without good grounds, that he was at the battle of Pentland. (Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 421.) In December 1670, he seized the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Haymarket, and attempted to carry him off. In the following year he made an attempt to carry off the *crown* from the tower of London, and, it is thought, would have succeeded, had he not spared the keeper's life. But what is still more strange, after this treasonable act, he was admitted to an interview with Charles II., pardoned, and allowed to appear publicly at court, even in the presence of Or-

thither; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr. Smith's,

mond. Writers have been exceedingly puzzled in attempting to account for this favourable treatment. In 1680, he was accused of a conspiracy against the Duke of Buckingham, but while he was preparing for his trial, he sickened and died. The terror which he had inspired did not cease with his life; his burial was looked on as a trick; the body was disinterred, and, after a strict examination, was at last identified as his, by the uncommon size of the left thumb. (See Biographia Britan. 2d edit. art. *Blood*, where almost every thing written about him is collected.) Baxter appears to have entertained, upon the whole, a favourable opinion of his character. (Life, part iii. p. 88.) Carte exclaims against his "matchless impudence, in pretending to godliness and tenderness of conscience." (Life of Ormond, ii. 423.) Evelyn, who dined with him in the Lord Treasurer's, along with several French noblemen, after his attempt on the crown, says, he "had not only a daring but a villainous, unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well-spoken, and dangerously insinuating." (Memoirs, i. 413.) But Evelyn was a better virtuoso than judge of character. Blood was of a restless disposition, and desperate courage; but it is not so evident that he was cruel, perfidious, or altogether devoid of a sense of religion.

From the following extract of a letter from Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Aug. 25, 1666, it appears that Blood was an author: "I am assured from several hands, that *Blood* alias *Mene Tekel*, so called from the villainous book he wrote with that title, and some few others of the same principles, are lately gone into that kingdom (Ireland,) hoping to work effectually their wicked ends upon the new militia especially." (Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 414.) In the following lines of the satirical Marvell, "Upon Blood's stealing the Crown," the wit turns on the circumstance of his having gained admission to the Tower in a clerical garb.

> "When daring Blood, his rent to have regain'd,
> Upon the English diadem distrain'd,

a sugar-baker's house, whose lady was a very pious, wise, and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children. The servants sent to Nottingham were ordered for London, to a place where they should stay till further orders. Madam Smith being informed who Mr. Hope was, concealed it from her husband and all others; and he passed for an ordinary Scots gentleman.

Within a day or two she sends down a note to Major Holmes, one of her great trustees in the city, to provide two chambers at a good distance from one another, where two friends of hers might be quiet and retired for a while; and when he sent her word they were ready, she sent them to the Major's lodging in the night time. None of them knew the Major, but they being set in an outer room to wait for his coming down, whenever the Major came into the room he knew Argyle, and getting him in his arms, said, "My dear Lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me." At which my lord seemed to be concerned, and said, "Pray, Sir, where did you know me?" "My lord," says he, "I knew you since that

He chose the cassock, circingle, and gown,
The fittest mask for one that robs the crown:
But his lay-pity underneath prevail'd,
And whilst he sav'd the keeper's life, he fail'd.
With the priest's vestment had he but put on
The prelate's cruelty, the crown had gone."
(MARVELL'S *Works*, iii. 237.)

day that I took you prisoner in the Highlands, when you were Lord Lorn, and brought you to the Castle of Edinburgh.* But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you:" And so sent each of them to their several chambers, where they lurked a considerable while.

None knew Mr. Hope's lodgings but Major Holmes and Mr. Veitch. After some days, Mr. Veitch being acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, went to pay him a visit. When he saw

* Major Holmes is described by Sprat as "an Englishman—a Major in the English army in Scotland." (Account of Conspir. 31, 110.) Argyle, when Lord Lorn, had distinguished himself by appearing in arms for the royal cause in 1653 and 1654, along with Glencairn and Middleton. (Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War, p. 158, 197, 199, 215. Edin. 1822. Baillie's Letters, ii. 377, 382, 394.) On this account he was favourably received at court on the Restoration; and the same cause had rendered him an object of jealousy to Cromwell's officers, and caused his being imprisoned on every new occasion. (Burnet, i. 106.) It would appear that on some of these occasions, Holmes had commanded the party that apprehended him. When Argyle, in the end of 1682, escaped to Holland, his correspondence with his friends at home passed through the Major's hands, who being apprehended among the first, and examined, 29th June 1683, some letters in cyphers were found with him, which involved Mr. William Spence, and eventually Mr. William Carstairs, and occasioned their being tortured. He is mentioned by both in their depositions. Carstairs had been previously acquainted with him, and in one of the last letters which he ever wrote, calls him "honest and worthy Major Holmes." (Sprat's Account, p. 111, Copies of Inform. p. 172, Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 35. Wod. ii. 387, 388.)

him, he took him into his bed-chamber, and sitting down together, he asked him, what was become of my Lord Argyle. He replied, "How should I know any thing of that, my lord?" Says he, "I no sooner saw your face, but I was persuaded you had brought him to the city. For when I heard of his escape, and considered with myself he could not be so safe any where as in London, it was cast in my mind that you were the person that could safeliest conduct him thither." Upon which Mr. Veitch told him that he was in town, but his lordship behoved to keep it secret; which he promised to do, and said he would serve him to his power.

After the hurry about his escape was over, Madam Smith brought out Mr. Hope and Mr. Veitch with him, to stay at their new house at Brentford, seven miles off the city; and not long after, several nobility, gentry, and rich merchants, some in the city of London, and some elsewhere, began to meet secretly, to see if they could fall upon any measures to prevent these nations, and the church of Christ therein, from sinking into popery and slavery, but all to little purpose, for it ended in that discovery that they called Monmouth's plot; * when several gentlemen of Scotland, and Mr. William Carstairs, were taken in London, and brought down to Edinburgh pri-

* More commonly called the Rye-house Plot.

soners; some of them put to torture, and the great, learned and pious Jerviswood was cruelly put to death.*

Mr. Hope kept himself retired still from all these meetings, yet he knew their measures, and they wanted not his advice; for he made himself known to none of these great persons at London by personal converse,† except only to Sir Arthur Forbes, the Earl of Granard, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with whom formerly he had a peculiar intimacy and friendship.

The Earl of Granard coming to London, and finding that Argyle was lurking in it, used all means to see him; and finding out his son, the Lord Lorn, in the city, intreated him to do him the favour to bring them together. He replied,

* For Baillie of Jerviswood's trial, see Wodrow, ii. 379, 387—450. The depositions taken in Scotland in relation to the Rye-house plot, furnish the following particulars respecting Mr. Veitch during the time he was in London.—"Veatche stayed sometimes at Nicolson stablers hous at London uall; sometimes with one Widow Hardcastle in Morfields." A letter having come from Argyle to Major Holmes, intimating that he would join with Monmouth and follow his directions, "this Mr. Veatch thought fitt to communicate" to the Duke of Monmouth, and obtained from Carstairs the key of the cypher, that he might hand it with the letter to Ferguson, for the purpose of showing it to the Duke. Veitch was also at more than one meeting with his countrymen, some of whom came to London in the beginning of April, and others only at the beginning of May 1683. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. pp. 34, 36.)

† See Gordon of Earlston's relation, in Sprat's Copies of Informations relating to the Conspiracy, p. 145.

" It was the thing he could not do himself, for he was as ignorant of his lodging as his lordship, but he would speak to the gentleman that brings him and his father together, and see what could be done." At length Mr. Veitch being spoken to, and telling Mr. Hope the matter, he was as desirous to meet with Granard as he was with him. Upon which my lord Lorn, and Mr. Veitch, under the name of Captain Forbes, resolved they should meet and dine together at the Dolphin in Lombard Street, being the ordinary place where his father and he used to meet. There they spent several hours together, discoursing upon the times, and what they thought proper for them to do to prevent the evils that threatened both church and state. So much for the first meeting.

They had only one other congress at the same place, though, in the interim, Captain Forbes went betwixt them with several messages, and was much caressed by the Earl of Granard to go along with him to Ireland, and he would prefer him to as profitable and honourable a post as possible, for which the captain heartily thanked his Lordship, but told him that in good manners he could not leave the Earl of Argyle.

At the second and last congress, which they had at the same place, they concluded to join with the Duke of Monmouth, and the honest nobility, gentry, and commons of England, that

should appear for the protestant interest, &c. Argyle heading the same in Scotland; and the Earl of Granard in Ireland; and that he should, whenever Argyle appeared in the west of Scotland, send over out of Ireland five thousand trained soldiers to assist Argyle. Upon which Mr. Forbes did see the two Earls pass their parole, and change their walking canes upon that head. But when the time came, nothing of this was performed, and what was the obstruction he knows not.*

* Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, was the son of Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes, who, after bearing arms on the Continent, settled in Ireland, was created a baronet in 1628, and died in 1632. Sir Arthur was the 4th son of William Forbes of Corse and Oneil, and brother of Patrick, bishop of Aberdeen, and John, minister of Alford, who was banished to Holland for assisting at the General Assembly held in Aberdeen in 1605. (Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 76. Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, i. p. 378, 379. Life of Andrew Melville, ii. 292, 2d edit.) His son was active in transporting troops from Ireland to Scotland in 1648, to join the Duke of Hamilton in his expedition to England. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. App. 97.) He commanded a party of horse under Glencairn and Middleton in the Highlands of Scotland, when they appeared for Charles II. in the years 1653 and 1654, and distinguished himself in several encounters with the English. Being taken prisoner and confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, the Earl of Argyle, then Lord Lorn, at the time of his capitulation, exerted himself in procuring his liberation, "for furthering his Majesty's service, and for personal respect to Sir Arthur." (Supplement to Dict. of Dec. vol. ii. 687, 688. Wodrow, ii. App. p. 65. Baillie's Letters, ii. 377, 382, 394. Lodge, i. 379, 380. Military Memoirs of the Civil War, p. 161. *et passim.*) In February 1660, he was sent to Brussels by Sir Charles Coote (afterwards Earl of Montrath) "to assure the King of his duty, and to give him an account of

My Lord Argyle upon the prospect of the discovery went to Holland;* and Madam Smith,

the state of the kingdom." (Carte's Ormond, ii. 203. Brown's Miscellanea Aulica, p. 334.) His loyalty caused him to be employed and advanced after the Restoration. In 1663, he was sworn in a member of the Privy Council; in 1670, made Marshal of the army; in 1675, Viscount Granard; and in 1684, Earl of Granard. (Lodge, i. 381, 382.) Veitch is mistaken in calling him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: he never held that office, but he was on several occasions one of the two Lords Justices. (Lodge, *ut supra.*) Though loyal, he was decidedly attached to the protestant religion, and favourable to the presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland. It was through his influence that Charles II. granted them a sum of L.600 annually, which was intrusted to Granard, and doubled at the Revolution. (Memoirs of Ireland, p. 39, 40. Hist. Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians, p. 383—385. Wodrow, i. 270.) In the projet of the Whig Council of 1679, he was one of three lords, supposed to be firm protestants, from whom it was proposed to choose the Chief Governor of Ireland. (Carte's Ormond, p. 494, 495.) The author of the *Memoirs of Ireland* says, that on the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, some were apt to believe that Granard was in suspence whom to declare for, but "the unalterable steadiness" of the Lord Primate Boyle, who was one of the Lords Justices, "hindered the other from deserting." Hume says, that at that time "the whole power was in the hands of Talbot, the general, soon after created Earl of Tyrconnel." (Hist. vol. ix. 254. Lond. 1811.) Oates had marked Talbot for this employment, whence it came to be observed, "that if Oates was an *ill evidence*, he was certainly a *good prophet.*" (Bennet's Memorial, p. 313.) At the Revolution the Earl of Granard adhered to James, and sat in his Privy Council and Parliament in 1689; but becoming satisfied of the duplicity of that Monarch and his intentions to establish popery, he left him and went over to William in 1690. (Plowden's Hist. of Ireland, i. 182, 189. Memoirs of Ireland, p. 39. Lady Russel's Letters, p. 214. Rawdon Papers, 326, 327.)

* "Lord Argyle, in September 1682, was pursued at London,

who had a hand in that, also persuaded her husband to go to Holland, and dwell there, from other motives; for he knew not that she had a hand in that plot: and then Argyle and they lived at Utrecht together. Mr. Veitch came from London down to the North to see his family and friends about fourteen days before it broke out,* and so escaped being taken with the Scotch gentry; and after he had wearied himself in hiding, sometimes in one place, and sometimes another, he was necessitated to steal over to Holland. His brother Mr. James and his wife being banished by the Duke of York, and coming to his house at Stantonhall, being afraid to stay there, went along with him.†

where he was on his hiding, and did escape." (Law's Memorials, p. 236.) From Carstairs's deposition, (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 34, 35.) and Gordon of Earlston's, (Sprat's Copies of Informations, p. 142.) it would appear that Argyle was in Holland in or about December 1682.

* The first information of the plot was given by Kealing on "the happy twelfth of June," 1683, says Sprat; and the conspirators met "on Monday June 18th, at Walcot's Lodgings, in Goodman's Fields, to consult, once for all, what should be done for their common safety." (Acco. of the Conspiracy, p. 89, 91. Copies of Informations, p. 1.) The discovery was announced on the 21st of June. (Wodrow, ii. 330.)

† See before, p. 9.—The following extract relates to a period soon after Veitch went to London with Argyle.—"My husband some weeks after sent me word what proffers he had for Carolina, and he thought I might make for going thither; which bred a new exercise to me. I thought in my old days I would have no heart for such a voyage and leave these covenanted lands; but at length I got sub-

Mr. Veitch met there with his old friends, Monmouth, Argyle, Earl of Melvil, Lord Polwart, Torwoodlee, James Stewart, and many others, who did, by the instigation of friends from both nations, not only before but especially after the death of King Charles, contrive Monmouth's coming to England, and Argyle's to Scotland, to oppose King James's carrying on his malicious designs of bringing the nations back again to the see of Rome. Both of them had great promises sent them of assistance, but it turned to nothing, as the public history tells. And no wonder, for the one part kept not their promises, and the other parties followed not the measures contrived and concerted at Amsterdam; to which meeting Mr. Veitch, with much persuasion, brought old President Stairs; and it cost him giving in bond for L.1000 Sterling to Madam Smith, who lent out L.6000 or L.7000 more, her husband being now dead, to my Lord Argyle and others, for the better carrying on that enterprise. Monmouth sent several of his

mission to my God, and was content if he had more service for me and mine in another land." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. MS. p. 8.) Sprat represents the scheme of a plantation in Carolina, by Sir John Cochrane and his associates, as a mere disguise, under which they met to carry on their conspiracy against the government. (Acco. of the Conspiracy, p. 34, 87.) The extract from Mrs. Veitch's Memoirs is an addition to the evidence in support of the reality of the scheme produced by Wodrow, (ii. 230.) and furnished by the deposition of Commissary Monro. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 33.)

friends incognito to several places in England to warn them to make ready; and Argyle sent Torwoodlee to Murrayland to prepare them, and Mr. Veitch to Northumberland and the Scotch borders to give them notice. He had also a verbal commission, and a token for showing the verity of his commission from my Lord Gray to his chief steward in Northumberland, to instigate him to raise what forces of horse and foot he could upon his charges, that they might be ready to appear when they heard of Monmouth's landing in the South. Mr. Veitch also had a verbal commission from Argyle to procure money for buying of arms, colours, drums, horses, and taking on men, especially old Oliverian officers; somewhat of all which he did, and through his too much travelling through the country, and the zeal of severals in many places to rise, the matter was like to take wind, so that he was forced to retire up to the mountains in the borders near Reidsdale-head, and hide himself from his very friends, until the season of appearing came. For Colonel Strother in the English side getting some notice of him, sent an express to the Scotch council hereanent; and they sent an express to the Earl of Lothian who commanded the militia in Tiviotdale, and to Meldrum whose troop was lying there, to join with Strother in searching the suspected places of the border to find him, which they did. They come upon a hill called the Carter, where Mr.

Veitch was lying in a hut among the rocks covered with heather-turfs as if they had been growing, which honest Mr. Thomas Steel had made up for himself, when he was forced to flee upon Aaron Smith's coming from London upon that errand ; * which place he assigned unto him, and he was lying in it when these great persons were riding along that hill on every side of him ; for no horse could come where he was. He was only afraid of their dogs, but providence ordered it well; for they missed their mark.

* Thomas Steil was Chamberlain of Jedburgh Forest to James, Marquis of Douglas. About the middle of February 1683, Aaron Smith, being sent from the English Whigs to Sir John Cochran, and other friends in Scotland, came, the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday, to Newcastle, where Sheriff, the inn-keeper with whom he lodged, obtained one Bell to be his guide to Jedburgh, to Steil who was his (Sheriff's) acquaintance. From Jedburgh he was conducted to Douglas by Andrew Olipher, who was previously engaged, and now on his way to bring home Steil's wife from the latter place. Smith not finding a guide there, Mrs. Steil permitted Olipher to go forward with him to Ochiltrie, where he left him. He passed by the name of Samuel Clerk, and said that he was on the Carolina business. (Sprat's Account, 183, 184, 185 ; Copies of Informations, 154, 155, 156.) On the discovery of the plot, and trial of those accused, Steil appears to have become alarmed, and provided the hut above mentioned for his concealment. Being at length apprehended, he, with Andrew Olipher, was, on the 11th of December 1683, examined by the committee for public affairs. On the 20th of that month, on the petition of the Marquis asserting Steil's innocence, and urging the injury his Lordship's affairs would suffer by his detention, the Council liberated him, on a bond that he should compear, and not leave the kingdom without licence, under a penalty of two thousand merks. (Privy Council Records.)

The news coming that Argyle was landed in the Highlands, he knew not how to get the truth of it, but sent one night for Mr. Steel, by honest Sanders Stevenson his man, who came every night with milk, and bread, and cheese, to him. And they advising together how to get sure notice, thought it necessary to send one to Edinburgh, to a trusty friend there, to see if he could procure two printed passes, for at that time none could travel without them; and filled up the names of two persons that he sent west, one toward Dunbarton, and another toward Irvine, to bring him a true account, which one of them did; but it was a sad account, viz. that Argyle and his party were broken at Muirdykes, and he himself taken near Paisley, which occasioned no small sorrow to Mr. Steel and Mr. Veitch, and to all their other friends, for they concluded now their case to be hopeless and helpless, there being no other mean in outward appearance now left; and (which put on the copestone of all,) within a few days after, the news of Monmouth's being broken came down to Newcastle by post, and peremptory and strict orders to search for all suspected persons, and to apprehend and strictly examine all travellers by sea and land.

After the Earl of Argyle was apprehended at Paisley, he was carried to Edinburgh, and executed upon the old sentence, without any respect

had to this invasion.* He was a person of great wit and policy, and true piety, so far as ever Mr. Veitch could discern, who was in his company from the time he carried him from his own house (being recommended to his care by the laird of Torwoodlee, who sent him to his house with his own servant and horses) until he sent him from Amsterdam, some weeks before he took shipping there for Scotland. For, as he hath formerly hinted, he bought horses at his own charge to carry Argyle and his servants to London; and furnished him money both by the way and afterward. When his son Charles, and black John Campbell came to London, having lost a little ship that was laden by sea, called the Anne of Argyle, they had nothing either to maintain them while they staid in the city or carry them home, but as Mr. Veitch gave them. Also when the Earl of Shaftesbury was necessitated to flee for Holland,† he sent Mr. Ferguson to fetch

* He was executed on the 30th of June 1685. (Wodrow, ii. 541.)

† "The Earl not long after chose to withdraw himself from further attacks by a retreat into Holland, where he arrived in November 1682. For security he applied to be made a burgher of Amsterdam, on which occasion it is said, that his *delenda est Carthago* was brought to his recollection. He died in that city of the gout in his stomach, on January 22, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age." A MS. of his on Toleration is said to be the basis of his friend Locke's Essay on that subject. (General Biography, article Cooper, A. Ashley.) Sprat says, Shaftesbury went down the river on the 19th of November. (Account of the Conspiracy, p. 49.)

Mr. Veitch to him, and was earnestly solicitous that he should make himself ready against to-morrow's night to go along with him, and he would sufficiently recompense him for his pains. But my lord Argyle would by no means part with him, which made him beg my lord Shaftesbury's excuse, who was not well pleased. And it was a considerable loss to Mr. Veitch, for he that went with him in his room, besides all other things, got a hundred guineas for a few months service abroad, where he died. Likewise, he was at a loss, by his absence from his people, and his meeting house being supplied by another in his room, who got the salary. And Argyle and the other Scotch gentry employed him to ride seven times between London and the borders of Scotland in nine months time, and he had nothing for it but seven pounds Sterling, and spent other seven pounds of my own.*

He would have him also to go straight to Holland with him, and his trunk was sent with my lord's down to the ship. But Mr. Veitch falling that night into an excessive fit of a cholic which

* " Jerveswood desired me some tyme last winter, or the beginning of the spring [1683, 1684] to acquent Torwoodlie, that Mr. William Vetch in Northumberland was too openly up and down, and desired that Torwoodly might acquent him soe much, that he keep himself more privat, else they might get a hite of him, for he heard or feared some designed it, which Torwoodly sometyme after told me he had immediately done upon the advertisement." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 37. Tarras's Deposition.)

kept him for many days, his trunk was sent back. Yet, as is formerly hinted, he followed him shortly to Holland, after he had visited his family and friends in the north; and waiting on him in that country, with the things he bought there to prepare him for his undertaking for Scotland, he spent L.50 Sterling of his own money. And, moreover, as has been hinted, upon his desire, when he parted from Amsterdam to execute his commission in Northumberland and the borders, he gave him not one sixpence of all the money and gold he had borrowed either to bear his charges, or buy the arms, and do the other things that he instructed him about, viz. giving to some old Oliverian officers fifteen, and some twenty guineas a-piece, to engage them and fit them for that service, some eleven pounds, some ten, some four. To many he gave pistols and swords, and money to buy furniture of that nature. He also provided colours, a pair of which he had kept till after the Revolution, and showed them to the Duke of Argyle, his son. The waiting upon Argyle also, so long together, occasioned him to lose L.120 Sterling of lent money, with the interest of it, to Mr. Horsley of Millburn Grange,* not having a security upon his estate for it, and the creditors upon his death running away with the executry, when Mr. Veitch was abroad; so that all the money from the very horses that he bought

* See before, p. 133.

at first, and the other things narrated, was never paid to Mr. Veitch, nor any of his, to this day.

Besides all this, any body would think that Mr. Veitch deserved a considerable reward for venturing his life and fortune over again, being but lately relieved out of that danger, and leaving his wife big with child within a few weeks of her time, and a numerous family to subsist upon a very small farm that there he was redacted to, being exhausted and impoverished by his former imprisonment and other troubles, where his life was at the stake.

But though these things were represented to his son, the late Duke of Argyle, who gave Mr. Veitch many repeated promises to reimburse him, and an account only of his real outlayings there was left in his custody with a letter subjoined, which no doubt his executors found among his papers, yet never was there any thing done; and Mr. Veitch may say that some of his children, to whom he had been very kind, gave him frowns and summons upon false grounds, and reproaches behind his back, instead of thanks.

This I confess to the commendation of the suffering Earl, that, walking with him in Madam Smith's garden at Brentford, in an unexpected discourse, he acknowledged to Mr. Veitch his great kindness in venturing over again his all in the world, yea his life, to serve him, who was never acquainted with him formerly; and that

he not only resolved to give him a suitable reward in money, but he would give him a free farm, worth about four hundred merks per annum, lying near Campbeltown, as he remembers, disponed to him and his posterity for ever, for that good service he had done him; and that it should be mentioned in the disposition, that his posterity might always show kindness to Mr. Veitch's posterity; and if Mr. Veitch had sought a bond of him, he, without doubt, had given him it. But he never dreamed of such a thing, thinking always they would live together afterwards, and the thing would be done.

The Duke of Monmouth was apprehended hiding himself among long braikers or ferns in the field, shortly after the defeat of his army; and public history gives an account of his execution. It was never heard (after Lauderdale had procured his being banished from the court when he came out of Scotland after Bothwell Bridge, without so much as coming to court, and going instantly to Holland) that ever he saw the king's face, except once before his majesty died;* when, being deeply impressed and troub-

* Veitch appears to have forgotten Monmouth's reception at court after the Rychouse plot. Wellwood expressly says, that King Charles "brought him back to court after the ferment (about the plot) was a little abated;" and adds, "All the time Monmouth was absconding, and when there was a proclamation

led in his mind anent the Duke of York and his jesuitical cabal's plotting how to take the king off the stage, which made him resolutely and generously venture to come over to London incognito, he sent for the lord Allington, then governor of the Tower of London, being his great friend and favourite; telling him, that he must needs go to the king and acquaint him, that he is in town, and has a business of great importance to impart to him. Upon which his majesty sent him word with the bearer when and where to meet him. The matter was, that he was credibly informed that there was a design laying by the Duke of York and his cabal, to cut him off, and he could not but venture all that was dearest to him to come and acquaint him therewith. At

out for apprehending him, King Charles not only knew where he was, and sent him messages every day, but saw him several times in private." (Memoirs, p. 166, 167.) That Monmouth had an interview with the king a short time before the death of the latter, as stated by Veitch, is confirmed by the following passage in Carte. "Though the Duke of York was a principal means in bringing his Majesty to recal the Duke of Ormond, yet, within a month after the king had notified that resolution, the Duke of Monmouth was suffered to come over into England, and admitted to a private interview with his Majesty, who, to remove his royal highness from about him, determined to send him to hold a parliament in Scotland, on March 10th following." (Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 539.) By comparing this with p. 536—538, it appears that this interview must have taken place in November or December, 1684. The king died on the 6th of February 1685.

which the king was a little struck and amazed, not so much from his not being apprehensive of the thing, as that it should have come the length of his ears when abroad, and that he should have showed so much kindness as to make such a dangerous adventure to inform him. So that after they had discoursed to the full, ere they parted, the king gave him as many jewels out of his cabinet as were valued at ten thousand pounds Sterling, and a secret order to his cashier to pay to the lord Allington, for the use of a friend of his, ten thousand pounds Sterling, as it is said: so he returned incognito again to Holland.

This alarm put the king upon a more serious inquiry anent this matter, and finding several things that increased his fears, he sent one of his domestic servants to the lord Allington to desire him to come at such an hour, which being late at night, he thought it would be most quiet and unknown, and undiscovered. But it proved not so; and the reason that was frequently given for it was this, that the Duke of York had so awed, influenced, and bribed all that used about the king, even to the meanest station, that nothing could be done now by the king, never so secretly, but it came presently to York's ears, so that he was not only able to carry on the foresaid design, but to frustrate all opposition thereunto.

Now the king's business with Allington was this—to take his advice, he being a wise man, and one of his greatest confidents at that time, about what measures he should make use of to prevent the Duke of York and his cabal's destroying of him; for he saw now it was inevitably a-coming. To which Allington replied, "Sir, you have brought it upon yourself, by your turning out Monmouth out of all his places, especially his command over the guards about your person, and suffering such to be put in who were York's creatures." "But what shall I do now," said the king? "Sir," said he, "I neither can nor dare advise you in that matter; for if it be heard, as likely it will, it may hasten both our ruins." The king promised solemnly to keep it secret, and would not part with him till he told him, and that he would presently put them in execution; and whatever befel him he should never discover or wrong Allington; and they paroled upon it. "Now," says he, "Sir, my advice is this, that seeing within a few weeks the appointed time will be that the Duke of York is obliged to go to Scotland, to hold the next session of his parliament, take care to give him his commission, and send him timeously away; and when he is there, send for Monmouth, restore him to all his places, and remove from the court all persons that are suspected to favour York's interest, as also, out of your guards, and

double them. When this is once done, he being in Scotland, we will see then what is farther to be done."

This proved a costly advice to them both, for no doubt but there were some overhearing behind the curtain, who told all to York, as appears by the event. A little after, the king sends for his brother, telling him he must make ready to go down for Scotland, the time drawing near for his keeping the next session of their parliament, he would presently expede his commission, and upon such a day he must take journey. At which discourse the duke seemed to be much displeased, telling his majesty it was a thing he could not at all undertake at this juncture; for he having a great trade at Calais and other foreign places, and many years' accounts to clear with these foreign factors, wherein he and other great merchants in the city were concerned, being now upon their journey, he must needs stay to clear with them, and therefore desired earnestly to be excused. To which the king replied, "James, either you must go, or I must go." And speaking these words with a kind of question, the duke as briskly replied, "He would not go;" and so took his leave. Then going home, and calling his friends and cabal, he told them what passed; and that he perceived the king resolved to follow Allington's measures. After which, his cabal he trusted in

resolved among themselves, that they would go to their houses, and put themselves in such a posture as that they might return within so many hours; no doubt, to such a secret place where they might sit without parting, until they had defeated the king's resolutions, and brought their purposes, if possible, to the intended issue. And if the information be true, which the event seems to make probable, they all unanimously resolved to begin with Allington, and see if they could take him off by poison; which they did by bribing his cook and master-household; which took place, and, if my memory fail not, says the relator, he either died on the Friday's night or morning.* For York had a spy to tell him so soon as ever his breath went out; and the cabal resolved, that if the business took, the Duke of York should be the first that should carry the

* "In 1682, William, lord Alington of Killard, in Ireland, was created lord Alington of Wymley, in Hertfordshire. He was constable of the Tower when the earl of Essex was there found murdered, and died of poison, as it is believed, two or three days before King Charles II." (New Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, ii. 340.) He married lady Diana Russel, sister of William, lord Russel, and widow of Sir Grevil Verney of Compton Verney, in the county of Warwick. (Russel's Life, p. 14.) Notwithstanding his connexion with the family of Russel, he appears to have been a steady adherent to the court. (A. Marvell's Works, ii. 559. Oldmixon's Crit. Hist. ii. 322. Statutes of the Realm, v. 900, 901.) Lady Russel often mentions her "sister Alington," and refers to lord Alington's death in two letters to Dr. Fitzwilliam. (Letters, pp. 51, 99, 100.)

news to the king, lamenting such a heavy loss, to blind the matter. And it is said that he made such haste, for fear any should be before him, that he ran to the court at the nighest, with one of his shoes down in the heel, and one of his stockings untied. Yet he was prevented, for one of my lord's servants had just come in before him, and told that his master was dead suddenly, and undoubtedly poisoned. York coming in in the mean time, not hearing this, made his lamentation that Allington, his friend, was dead; a very sad stroke to the court. "Aye," says the king, "and his servant thinks he was poisoned: I wish you have not a hand in it, of which, if I were sure, you should presently go to the Tower; for I am like to be next." But the duke intreating his majesty to have no such thoughts, and, acknowledging his fault in refusing to go to Scotland at their last meeting, said, he was now resolved to comply with his majesty's commands, and take journey next week for Scotland, come of his business what would: And therefore desired his majesty to expede his commission next week, that he might not be hindered. Now these were the words that he and his cabal had concerted further to blind the king withal, that so they might better effectuate their next resolution.

The king believing him to speak seriously, and, that he might yet accomplish what Allington had advised him, when the duke was gone for Scot-

land, ordered his commission to be instantly drawn, that he might go down to hold the foresaid parliament. In the mean time, the duchess of Portsmouth, his present miss or whore, that the king of France had sent him, and who influenced him as she pleased to the French measures, not being pleased with the Duke of York's maltreating the king in refusing to go to Scotland, his cabal thought fit that the duke should go to her and acknowledge his rashness with the king, and beg that she would interpose for their amicable reconciliation, which she promised to do; and telling her that, he being to go away upon Monday or Tuesday next to obey his majesty's commands in Scotland, the best way and time to do it was to sup with her grace on Sabbath night, and she might invite any of the court there that she thought fit; to which she consented. When he came back, and told his cabal what was done, they said, "Then our business is like to do." So they ordered the duke to send a good quantity of all sorts of wines and good liquors, especially claret, which the king loved; that so she might be induced to entertain them liberally and long that night. And, the king being sotted with drink, it being usual, in such a case, to drink a good deal of coffee for a cure, they had liberally bribed his coffee-man to poison his coffee; and some of York's faction, in that case, when he was so drunk, was to advise the duchess to keep him

all night, to save him the trouble of going to his own room. Likewise knowing that, in the morning, when he first awaked, he made use of much snuff, they hired the duchess's chambermaid to put in the poisoned snuff into his box, and take out what was in it before. And so nothing doubting but their design now would take place, they ordered a spy to give an account of his carriage when he awaked, timeously, before any of the court should know of it. When he awaked he cried out "he was deadly sick," and calling for his snuff-box, he took a deal of it; but still growing worse, he sent for his servants to put on his clothes, which when they were doing he staggered. So he got to the window, and leaned upon it, crying, "I'm gone, I'm poisoned; have me quickly into my chamber."

The duke getting notice, came running in haste, all undrest, to lament his brother's fate, saying, "Alas! Sir, what's the matter?" who answered, "O, you know too well," and was in great passion at him. In the mean time, he called for his closet-keeper to fetch him out an antidote against poison, that a German mountebank had given him and assured him it would instantly cure him whenever he suspected it; but it could not be found, neither his physicians, being, as it was thought, sent out of town. When he saw all these things fail him, being enraged at his brother, he made at him; but he having secured all

the entries to the court, that the sentry should tell, if any courtiers or bishops, upon the news, should offer to come in to see how the king was. They were to tell them that he was gone to bed out of order, and had discharged all access to him that he might be quiet. And in the mean time the duke seeing him in such a rage, and that the poison was not like to do so quickly, set four ruffians upon him, at which he crying out so as he was heard, they presently choked him in his cravat, and so beat him in the head that he instantly died. It is said that his head swelled bigger than two heads; and also that his body stunk so with the poison and other things, that none could stay in the room. And it is said, that in the dead of the night they were forced to carry him out and bury him *incognito*.

However the room was kept quiet, that none had access to the supposed sick king, as if he had been lying still in bed. None was admitted to that room but those who were true friends to York, who made the people believe he was still alive, but dangerously ill. And when his council met, and had concerted what measures to follow upon the supposition of his death, (an embargo being laid upon all ships for that time, that none might carry abroad the rumour of his sickness,) then they gave out the news of his being just now dead toward the latter end of the week; and, as they had concerted in council, the duke of York was proclaimed

king. One that was at court at this time, and was a friend of Monmouth's, brought him over this account, affirming it to be true.

The duke of York was no sooner proclaimed king, but he sent over instantly an express to the prince of Orange, his good-son, to apprehend the duke of Monmouth, and send him over prisoner to England. It was a strange providence that the duke, upon the prince's invitation some months before, had gone up to visit him, and was that night in his lodgings when the express came. The prince being surprised with the news at first, upon second thoughts managed the business very well. He dispatched the express, and when all his household was gone to bed, he put on his nightgown, and went up to the duke of Monmouth's bed-chamber; and letting him see the surprising news, both with respect to the king and himself, he advised him to get up and go away before day-break, to any place where he thought he might be most secure, for he had no mind to meddle with him. Which he did, and came to Rotterdam before five in the morning, to his friend and factor's house, Mr. Washington's, who kept the great brewery at the sign of the Peacock, and, sending for several of his friends who were there, told them the strange news, asking their advice what was best for him to do. They, being all struck with amazement, knew not what advice to give him. He told them that

the Marquis de Grana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, being his intimate acquaintance at the English court, had by a message invited him up to divert himself a while with him at Brussels. He thought now he was called to go there, since he was not admitted to stay where the prince of Orange had any power, lest it might beget a mistake between him and his father-in-law. His friends thought it a good providence that he should take the occasion, which he did; and going through several garrison towns which were in his way thither, with his camels, sumpters, and servants attending him, he was complimented in his passage by the magistrates and governors of these places.

But how strange is it to think, that some days ere he came there, there came a message and order from the king of Spain to the marquis, giving him an account that, if he heard by this time of the king of England's death, he should take care to apprehend the duke of Monmouth, if he were in his territories. They were both surprised at their meeting, and condoled one another's fate; the one that he had got such an order, that, cost him what it would, he would not execute; the other, that he should have come now to put him in such a lock. So in that very night he was forced to disguise himself, and one of his trustiest servants, in a common soldier's habit, and return again, sometimes by land and some-

times by water, until he landed at Dort, where two spies, Englishmen, following them to the inn as suspected persons, the master going up stairs to a room, and his servant going into the cookery to see what meat was for eating, he heard them saying to one another in French, "That fellow that went up stairs looked very like the duke of Monmouth." Upon which the servant took up bread and drink, paying for it; and they went out by a back door, when they had done, and took a waggon, which brought them to Rotterdam; where they told their friends what was befallen them.

What is above said seems to make it very evident that the king's death was a fore-contrived thing. For if the king of Spain knew of it before his messenger was dispatched, as the story evinceth, so the popish princes in other countries could not but be acquainted also, as well as the papists in England; for it seems to have been an universally laid thing, to hasten the duke of York to the crown of England for advancing the Catholic cause. After this, Monmouth was obliged to lurk sometimes in Rotterdam, sometimes elsewhere, until they had perfected that concert of Argyle's coming into Scotland and Monmouth's into England, where their friends in both nations promised to appear with them for retrieving, if possible, the protestant interest that was now perishing; and their last meeting for that effect was at Rotterdam.

Here also, it is to be remarked, that the duke of York, now king of England, pursued Washington, as his factor, for receiving the crown jewels that the king gave to Monmouth; but he not being able to make it good that Washington had received them, the pursuit fell, and came to nothing.

Mr. Veitch, drawing nigher Newcastle, was in such strait that he was forced to betake himself to a wood; these proclamations and penalties * putting his friends in such a fear, that they durst not harbour him in their houses. The harvest-nights growing cold, he got some straw to lie on under him, and a great covering above him all night; which was supposed by travellers, or any that saw it, to be the herd's, whose name was Thomas Wilson; and, when Mr. Veitch went from the place of the wood where he used to be, upon the noise of travellers, so that the lass that brought him his meat could not find him, she was appointed to cry "Tommy Wilson, Tommy;" upon the hearing of which he came and met her.

When that storm was a little calmed, he ventured in to Newcastle to see his wife and family; where he met with some of his Scotch relations, that were come to see them, and inquire what was become of him. Some other good people in town also were there. They spent together a

* See before, p. 150.

part of the night in prayer and mourning over the sad case that now the nations and church were in.* The most part of their discourse was telling their fears and discouragements, and that they were never like to see good days again. After several had spoke to that purpose, Mrs. Veitch came to tell her thoughts,—' that, indeed, our night was dark, and all things looked with a black face, but yet she was persuaded that God would not leave his own work, but would raise up instruments from an airt that we did not expect, to build his house, to bring back the ark and the glory, and bring home his captives; and she was persuaded that she would see presbytery established, and her husband a settled minister, in the church of Scotland, ere she died.' Though they loved the thing, yet they little believed it in the time; but when it came to pass, they both thought and talked much of it.

Mr. Veitch, being wearied with such toil and confinement, went with one Caleb Wilkison, a Nottingham merchant and friend of his; who carried him to that part of Yorkshire lying between York and Hull, and left him as a friend of his to stay in a town called South Cave, with one Mr. John Chappelle, a merchant there; telling him quietly, that he was an honest man under hiding, where he was most kindly entertained.

* Bennet, in his *Memorial,* (pp. 289—291.) gives an account of some young men in Newcastle who were brought before Judge

And there was in that town one Mr. Beak, their dissenting minister, that preached in Swanland Chapel,* but durst not at this time, the heat of Monmouth's business not being yet well cooled; but some weeks being elapsed he began to venture. In the mean time, when the Sabbath came, his landlord, Mr. Chappelle, read and spake his thoughts upon the Scripture, (which is usual in England,) and prayed in the forenoon. And he would have Mr. Veitch, who now went under the name of Mr. Robinson, to do the like in the afternoon; to which he was somewhat averse, but, being urged, did it. Next morning Mr. Chappelle comes to Mr. Robinson's bedside, and, after inquiring how he was this morning, he says, "Truly, Sir, I have been in a mistake about you;

Jefferies in 1683, imprisoned for a year, and threatened with a trial for *high treason*, because they had subscribed a paper containing rules for the better ordering of a society for prayer and religious conference, which they had taken from a work of Isaac Ambrose.—Richard Gilpin, M. D. who was ejected from Graystock, in Cumberland, and had refused the bishopric of Carlisle, a person of great accomplishments, practised as a physician, and preached to the nonconformists, in Newcastle. (Palmer, i. 300.) Mrs. Veitch speaks of attending his ministry before the Revolution. (Memoir, p. 29.) Mr. Benjamin Bennet succeeded Dr. Gilpin as minister at Newcastle.

* Palmer (Memor. ii. 597.) mentions "Mr. James *Baycock*," (corrected "*Bayock*,") as many years a preacher at *South Cave*, where he trained up several persons for the ministry. This appears to be the person called *Beak* by Veitch, who always adapts his orthography of English names to the pronunciation. Swanland is in the immediate neighbourhood.

for I never took you to be a minister till yesterday, but now I am persuaded you are, and my friend did me an injury in not telling me." Mr. Robinson would have dissuaded him, but it would not do. He goes down to visit his minister, Mr. Beak, taking his guest along with him, and, taking him aside, tells him his thoughts concerning him. The minister was very kind, and they kept for several weeks a warm correspondence in private, till the ministers fell a preaching again in their meeting-houses; when Mr. Beak preaching in the forenoon, he and some others will have Mr. Robinson to preach in the afternoon.

Some of the people of Beverly being at that sermon, had influenced the leading dissenters to send a horse and a letter, inviting Mr. Robinson to come down and give them a sermon; which he was loath to do, but his landlord persuading him to it, did comply. Though there were many good people in it, and some of note, yet the mayor, aldermen, and Sir Ralph Wharton,* deputy-lieutenant, were all high tories. However, the good people would have him to preach to them in a by-place of the town, called Paradise, walled about. They went in all before day broke; but the country people, who came wandering in the

* Sir Ralph Wharton—commissioner of supply for the east riding of the county of York in 1679 and 1690. (Stat. of the Realm, v. 905; vi. 188.)

day-time, seeking sermon, occasioned them to be discovered. The mayor and aldermen compassed the house, and the mayor coming in with a sergeant at his back, the people rising to give him way, ere he came near the minister, he cried, "Hold, hold! Sir, enough of that;" and stepped to the end of the table next him, to lay hold on the paper that one was writing the preaching upon; but, they struggling, he did not get it. In the mean time, all being on their feet round about him, and the mayor being sand-blind, so that he could not distinguish him from the rest, the minister was advised to turn about to the other end of the table, and go into another room on the same floor where the people were hearing. He put on his steel-grey riding coat, which was lying on the bedside, and sat down and heard the mayor abusing his neighbours for being there; telling them that Monmouth was not as yet well cold in his grave, and they were beginning new plots against the government; and many other things to that purpose. To whom Mr. Benjamin Dalton, a rich man, and one in good esteem in the place, replied, "Mr. Mayor, if you understood yourself, and the station you occupy, you would not speak so rudely to us, and threaten us so hard with a prison; we know what you can do in law, and, if you go beyond it, we know how to be redressed." Upon which, one of the aldermen came in, and called him out to the door,

and he, with the rest, chid him for his indiscretion, and told him only to take up their names, and let them go till the court-day, where they would be called to pay their fines. Mr. Robinson was afraid when he heard of sending all to prison, thinking then that he would be discovered; but when he heard of taking up names, he hoped that he might escape.

The mayor came back with his clerk, and stood in the great entry, and the clerk took all their names as they passed by. Mr. Chapelle, Mr. Robinson's landlord, was the mayor's cousin-german, and both were of one name. He thought fit to show himself to his cousin, the mayor, before his wife, and the minister, and the people that lived in that town should go out. When he came to him, he got up both his hands, and cried out, "O, cousin, are you here? I'm sure there is a deep plot on foot that you are come seven miles to carry on; but, however, you may go, for I cannot forget your name if I mind my own." "Nay," says he; "I have my wife, friends, and neighbours here, and I'll go fetch them all out together;" and, when he came back, he says to the minister, "Come you next after me, and let the rest follow." When he passes by, the clerk writes down his name by the mayor's order. In the mean time, the mayor takes Mr. Robinson by the sleeve, and says, "What is your name, Sir?" to which he replies, "Mr. Mayor, my name is

William Robinson." "Where do you live?" This question being a little puzzling, he pulls at his landlord's coat, and he, understanding the strait he was in, turns about, and says to the clerk, "Write down, William Robinson of Gilbert-dykes;" and so they went out.

But Mr. Robinson would go to no house, but desired his landlord to show him the next way out to the Windmills, and send his horse after him. He lay long among the bushes waiting, and seeing several horsemen coming by, he skulked behind a hedge lest they should be enemies; but when they came nigh, seeing them friends, he asked, if they saw his boy and the horses coming. They said, "No;" but one of them caused his son give him his horse, and he went along with them, and the young man waited for the minister's horse. So he went to that man's house, which was but two miles off the town, where he dined; and, after preaching out his sermon to a number of people that followed on that way, he went home at night with his landlord Chappelle.

When the court-day came, the mayor sat to fine the people of the town, and Sir Ralph Wharton those of the country, who most part appeared, yet the preacher was not found; but they fined him, according to the law, in £20 Sterling, whose name and habitation was not yet known, whenever he should be found; and if he be not,

to lay that fine upon the hearers proportionably next court-day. But some of them thinking that the minister might be that Robinson of Gilbert-dykes, they ordered their bailiffs to go to that place, which was ten miles off Beverly, and bring him, with all the other absents in the country, the next court-day, which was to sit at twelve of the clock. The bailiffs went to the place, and happened to find a poor old man of that name, who was a hedger and ditcher, whom when they would bring away, he appealed to the next justice of the peace, where he gave his affidavit that he had never been in Beverly all his life, and that he was no dissenter; which affidavit they presented to the court the next day; and when it was read they fell all a laughing, and the mayor cried out, "My cousin Chapelle has undoubtedly served us this trick."

It is remarkable here, that more than an hour before, King James's act of indemnity, and his act for liberty to all dissenters to license meeting-houses and ministers, where, and whom they pleased, and that only for paying sixpence to the next justice of the peace's clerk, were proclaimed at eleven of the clock at the market-cross in Beverly; yet the court that sat after twelve were going to exact the fines for the minister and people. But Mr. Dalton, with some of the leading dissenters, went up to the Court, protested and took instruments in the hands of the clerk,

that now their proceedings were illegal, seeing the acts of indemnity and liberty were proclaimed before they sat down; and they were forced to dissolve the court, so that neither minister nor people paid fines.

Sir Ralph Wharton, meeting with Mr. Dalton, his physician, says, "How now, Dalton; you'll have a minister and a meeting-house, surely?" "Yes," says Mr. Dalton, "as soon as possible; and if we can, we will have Robinson of Gilbert-dykes to be our minister, and then ye shall see him, though before you could not find him."

It is to be remembered here, that Mr. Robinson, after that meeting was taken, within a few days went straight to York, and Mr. Beak, the honest minister of Swanland, was pleased to accompany him, being born in that city, where he met with another remarkable deliverance. For Mr. Beak informing several of the good people of that city what he was, they would needs have him to preach privately to them, the liberty not yet being come out.*

* The king's Declaration for liberty of conscience in England was dated April 4, 1687. It suspended the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, acquitted the subjects from all penalties which they had incurred, or might hereafter be liable to, for nonconformity, and freely gave them "leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired or built for that use."—"We cannot but heartily wish," (says his Majesty) "as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic

He lying at the Black Greyhound, near the Minster of York, a little before the time that the messenger was to come about him to the other end of the city where he was to preach, he went over to the minster-yard to get himself trimmed, and passed by a company of fine genteel sparks, who looked very wistfully to him as he was going into the barber's shop, whom, by a good providence, he found not within, and so returned to his quarters, and went away with the messenger that came for him about day-going.

About the beginning of his sermon there came in a gentleman and his lady, with a great lantern before them, and sat down in the chairs hard by the preacher, that were set for them. After sermon was ended, he and some others staid to talk with the minister, to whom he said, "I perceive, Sir, you are a Scotch minister; was you this evening in the minster-yard? and saw you any sparks there standing?" "Yes, I did," said the minister. Says the gentleman, "One of them was a Scotchman, a Jesuit priest, who knew you, and thought to have resented some injury he says you did him. For as soon as he saw you, he made haste to get a warrant from the justice

church; yet we humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of long time been, our constant sense and opinion, (which upon divers occasions we have declared,) that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion." (Wodrow, ii. App. 193.)

to apprehend you before you got out of the barber's shop, and missing you there, as I came through the minster-yard, he, with a great many officers, were searching all the suspected houses round about. Upon which, the master of the house where he was preaching said, he should lie with him all night; and Mr. Beak should go to the quarters where they had lien together, which was his aunt's house, and should come by day-breaking in the morning with the horses to that place, and convey him safely out at the gates, which he could well do, being born in the city, and accompanied him a mile on his way. He went toward Newcastle, to hear of his wife and family, and presently returned to Nottingham, there being no safety for him there; for the indemnity and liberty forementioned was not proclaimed till he came to Nottingham.

This Scotchman, who was now turned to be a Jesuit priest, his name was Brown, born in Smailholm, near Kelso, who being new laureate, came to Mr. Veitch's house at Harnam Hall, in Northumberland, and lamenting his distressed case, would be content either to be a chaplain or schoolmaster, or any thing he would recommend him to, for his livelihood. Upon which Mr. Veitch recommended him to a gentleman in that country to teach his children. The gentleman being pious, and finding him extravagant, he turned him off; and the young man being at a new strait,

came to Mr. Veitch to get a recommendation from him to the ministers of London of his acquaintance, that they might help him to some place or other. But he refused, not only upon the account of his loose carriage here, but fearing he might be worse afterward; and also because some other young men that he had formerly recommended to these ministers in the city did neither answer his nor their expectation. However, this youth went to London, and falling in with a popish gentleman, attended his son abroad for several years, and returned to England, as it was reported, under the character of a popish priest; and haunting at York, (for it is like the popish gentleman was a Yorkshire one, which made him do so,) there it was that he first saw Mr. Veitch, and intended to give him the forementioned requital. But God, who had given him many former deliverances, added this also.

Within a few days after he came there, a messenger brought him a call from the people of Beverly to be their minister, which he complied with, though the people of Nottingham had an inclination to detain him. He sent back a letter with the messenger, telling them, that within eight or ten days he would wait upon them. After his entry, the meeting grew daily more numerous, which was occasioned by his going up to the wild places of Yorkshire, called the Wolds of

Yorkshire, being invited upon week days to preach among them, and they licensing great leaths, or barns, for that purpose; so that they came down from these places in companies to Beverly on the Sabbath. They had made a stately meeting-house, by throwing down all the divisions of four great rooms on one floor; and taking up the deals of the middle parts of the lofts above, and opening great windows to a yard of green ground, where hundreds of people may stand and hear. All sorts of people at first were anxious to hear; and it can be said of several of them that came from such motives, they got better ones there.

He was several times invited to preach at Hull, which is six miles off. The people declared that, to their knowledge, there never was such a reformation in these parts. For the justices of the peace, especially those that were popish, were mightily incensed against it, and used all means to break it, especially his preaching in the Wolds; where a popish justice of the peace, on a week day, came (having threatened before that he would do it) with a great company of hounds, and hunting horses, and long whips; and called to the people that were standing without doors to hold out of their way, that they might see and hear that fellow, who came so boldly to debauch the country. But the people told them, that if they offered to do any thing indecent and disturbing, or contrary to law, they would resent it,

upon which they retired. The minister had never more satisfaction in any part of his ministerial work than he had in that place.

Having preached for six or seven months there, and settled a meeting-house and a people, the like whereof was not formerly, and which continues unto this day, September 1688, he was strongly invited, by many letters, to return to his native land; they having accepted also of king James's liberty, though they did it not so soon as in England. His wife was very forward for his returning, though the people of Beverly had sent for her, given her good offers, and used many arguments to persuade her and her husband to stay with them. But her heart was for her native country, and she longed to see that in the performance which she had promised herself formerly in her duties and wrestlings with God, and had expressed her assurance thereof.

After he had left Beverly, one of the pleasantest cities, with two great and famous churches in it, curious and plain fields about it, therefore called the Paradise of England; and having preached his farewell sermon, where there were many tears, he, with a kind of reluctancy, took his leave of that beloved and affectionate people.

In his way home he visited his friends at Darntoun, where he was persuaded to stay the next Sabbath. The few godly people that were there were earnestly desirous that he should stay a

while with them, and that he should go out upon the week days and preach in the country about where he had been formerly acquainted, viz. at Matthew Scarfield's at Jolbee, about three miles south from Darnton, who was a very godly man; at Mr. Smithson's, who lived to the westward four or five miles; and at one Mr. Harrison's, who lived to the north-east several miles. Their importunity made him continue longer than he designed; and though the people in Darnton could not, when he came there, promise a minister above L.10 a-year, they not exceeding eighty hearers at first, yet in two months' time he brought them to about 400 or 500 out of the country round about, who did subscribe to give an honest minister L.60 Sterling *per annum;* so that they were necessitated to make up a new meeting-house; for the old place would not serve. And the people of Scotland being impatient for his coming, he left Mr. Long his successor to that people.

After all these things, he at length, all impediments being removed out of the way, returned with great joy and affection to his native land; the people in the parishes of Oxnam, Crailing, Eckford, Linton, Morebattle, and Hownam, having joined together to give him a call to preach to them, under the present liberty,* at Whitton-

* In the Proclamation of February 12, 1687, commonly called

hall, which was almost the centre of these parishes, the most of the hearers being within three miles of the meeting-house which they there erected. He entered into it in April 1688, the call by that people being sent unto him many months before, which is here subjoined.

"WE, the people of the presbyterian persuasion within the parishes of Hounam, Oxnam, Eckford, Morebattle, and places adjacent, having united ourselves in a society for carrying on the work of the gospel among us; and having duly and ripely considered the need we have of a faithful and able preacher to be settled among us, to the

James's First Toleration for Scotland, his Majesty did, by his "sovereign authority, royal prerogative, and absolute power, allow and tolerate the moderate presbyterians to meet in their private houses, and there to hear all such ministers as either have, or are willing to, accept of our indulgence allenarly, and none other; nor are they to presume to build meeting-houses, or to use outhouses or barns." This liberty was granted them on condition of their taking an oath prescribed in the proclamation. Quakers were permitted to meet "in any place or places appointed for worship." This proclamation suspended, stopped, and disabled, all laws against Roman Catholics, who "shall in all things be as free, in all respects, as any of our Protestant subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices," &c. (Wodrow, ii. App. No. 129.) The king's letter of March 31, called the Second Toleration, dispensed with the oath enjoined by the former. (Ibid. No. 132.) His proclamation of June 28, called the Third Toleration, was as ample as the English Toleration of April preceding, with this difference, that it denounced field-conventicles. (Ibid. No. 134.)

eternal welfare of our immortal souls,—have pitched upon you, Mr. William Veitch, Minister of the Gospel, and do unanimously, heartily, and earnestly, invite and call you to take the charge of us, by preaching the gospel, catechising, visiting our families, administrating the sacraments, and exercising discipline, and doing, by instructing, comforting, admonishing and rebuking, whatever is incumbent to a faithful pastor. And we do, in the Lord's strength, promise to receive the word from your mouth, subject ourselves to the several parts of your ministry, to give you all due encouragement, and do whatever is incumbent for a dutiful people to their faithful pastor. In witness whereof we have subscribed thir presents, at Whitton, the second day of November, 1687."

This call was subscribed by above seventy masters of families in the forementioned parishes, some whereof were gentlemen of good quality.

He exercised his ministry there with great satisfaction; and the meeting increased daily, not only from the Scotch side, but also the English; his old friends and hearers in Coquet-water and Reedsdale frequenting that place, and inviting him over on week days to preach with them, which he willingly complied with. He preached also in these parishes mentioned on the week-days, time about, both before and after the happy

Revolution by the prince of Orange, (who landed at Torbay, with his fleet and army, the 4th of November, 1688;) and then in the churches about, as they were cleared from the prelatical clergy.

Upon this good news, and the prospect of a happy change, the outed presbyterian ministers of Scotland thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh, and so wrote to all their brethren in the adjacent parts to meet at the Taylors' Hall, where they spent some time in praying together, that God would prosper the prince's undertaking, give him, and all that joined with him, counsel and direction how to manage so great and difficult an undertaking, and make them successful; so as it might resolve to God's glory, returning of the captivity of the church and people of God, the building of the old waste places, and the bringing back of the ark and the glory that had been so long at Kirjath-jearim, the fields of the wood, and settle it again in his sanctuary; and particularly that, at this juncture, he would point out to the godly ministry and people in Scotland what is their duty, and help them faithfully to perform it.

It fell out, very unexpectedly and surprisingly to Mr. Veitch, that the meeting of the ministers voted him, the next day after he came, to preach in the new meeting-house over against Libberton's Wynd head; a thing to which he was greatly averse. His reasons that he gave were—his being

a stranger for twenty years and more in Scotland, and so very ill acquainted with the transactions of that time, which rendered him unfit at such a juncture to speak in public; as also that there were many old, grave, and wise men there to do it, and it might bring no small detriment to such a promising work of reformation as was now in prospect to set him or such as he was in such a public place. But these reasons were not heard, and it was left upon him, which was so perplexing to his mind that he knew not what to do, for when eight of the clock at night was come he could not find a text; but at length he fell upon that 18th verse of the 119th psalm, (the words are, "Thou hast trode down all them that err from thy statutes, for their deceit is falsehood,") which took him up the whole night without going to bed in thinking upon it. And when he came up to the pulpit, his seeing of sixteen old ministers sitting in the loft before him, and the meeting so throng of all sorts of people, increased his fear and confusion. However, he delivered his thoughts upon the subject, with respect to the present circumstances of things and what was in view, with such plainness and freedom as greatly offended the prelates, who sent him a particular message the next day by one of their own gang and his acquaintance,—that for such bold and unbecoming reflections upon them and their government they were resolved to be even with

him ere long; as also, that he durst be so bold in such a public auditory to pray for the success of the Prince and Princess of Orange. All the answer he returned them by the messenger was, to bid them put on their spurs. Upon the other hand, he seemed to give offence to some of the godly party, by some free expressions that he had with respect to the future government, if presbytery should be erected.

A worthy gentleman both for learning and piety took him by after sermon in the street, and told him, he doubted not but that he had offended several of the good people by some things he had said. He replied, he was sorry for it; but a little time would discover these things. About half a year after he came to him at the cross of Edinburgh, and taking him aside, he craved him pardon for what he had said upon that sermon, for all that was spoken in it was like to be too true.

When the presbyterian church was restored by law, Mr. Veitch had calls from several parishes, viz. one to Crailing, another to Melrose, and a third to Peebles, which he was persuaded by the Earl of Crawford, Lord Argyle, old Stairs, and James Stewart, advocate, to embrace, notwithstanding the old Duke of Queensberry did vigorously and violently oppose it. But these four forementioned persons engaged to support him, telling that the duke and his iniquitous laws

were now out of date, out of court, and under water; but, notwithstanding of his being overclouded for the present, he got up again, and maintained a vigorous plea against Mr. Veitch for seven sessions, both before the lords and the church; so that the gentlemen who promised to support him shrunk back as the duke increased in favour at court; and at length he overawed, I may say, the church to loose him from that charge. And he having a call to Edinburgh, another to Paisley, and a third to Dumfries, the assembly was influenced by Mr. Veitch's speech, (wherein he showed so great an aversion to Edinburgh) to vote him to Dumfries; after he had served the cure four complete years in Peebles, viz. from September 1690 to September 1694, at which time he was admitted to his ministry in Dumfries.

He left Peebles with great aversion, not only with respect to that parish, but also to the country round about. He did foresee that his removal from thence would be of ill consequence both to the parish and the country-side, and, therefore, upon a new call given him to that place, struggled hard to be back again, and lost it only by four votes. He never got the legal stipend of that place all the four years he was there; so that he lost, what by expence of law, and not getting the stipend which was legally due, above ten thousand merks, by the potency

of his enemies, and the injustice of the bench, which the old Duke, and his son Lord William,* have to account for to the Great Judge; and, if Mr. Veitch be rightly informed, it did trouble the conscience of two of his greatest opposers on their death-bed.

As Mr. Veitch was greatly perplexed with the hard usage the assembly had given him in their illegal removing of him merely to please the duke, when they had many strong reasons to the contrary, and to send him to Dumfries, a place that he heard wanted not its own difficulties, he resolved to leave the nation, and so publicly refused to submit to the sentence of that judicatory, and undertook to give in his reasons for so doing. The assembly being about to rise, referred him to the commission of the kirk to hear him, to whom he gave in a whole sheet of paper of reasons why he could not submit to the sentence, with a complaint of his hard usage and unbrotherly treatment. After the reading of which, he being put out, and the commission considering the matter, instead of giving him written answers which he required, they thought it better to appoint a committee to confer with him, to see if they could give him satisfaction;

* In 1693, Mr. Veitch lost an action before the Lords, against Lord William Douglas, the Duke's second son, for the reduction of a tack which his predecessor, Hay, had granted for behoof of his family. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 879.)

and they nominated Mr. Edward Jamieson, Mr. Gabriel Semple, and his brother Mr. John, with some others, to confer with him and bring his answer to the commission.

In the mean time his old friends in England, hearing of these things, sent a gentleman to Peebles to bring him back to them, engaging to give him a fine house and yards to dwell in, to furnish him with plenty of fire, and L.60 Sterling per annum, well paid, beside other things which he knew they used to give ; and the gentleman promised to give his personal bond for the making all of it good before he went out of Peebles, and would not return to England without Mr. Veitch's going along with him, which he did. They would have had Mr. Veitch engaging to be their pastor ere he came back to Scotland, after he had preached a Sabbath day with them ; but he refused till once he should handsomely end with the commission of the kirk.

When he came back to the commission, they having heard of these things, desired the committee forementioned to deal earnestly with him not to leave the nation, but to stay and comply with the sentence, if possible, and that because, among other reasons, it would be a very ill precedent, it being in the entry of this new reformation and church establishment, and give others afterward occasion to refuse submission to the sentences of church judicatories ; and they hoped

that Mr. Veitch, upon that very account, would be cautious and wary to do any thing that might afterward be prejudicial to the church, and desired him to do them that favour to go and preach at Dumfries four or five sabbaths, and acquaint himself with the people and the state of his affairs in that place, and see if he and they could comply together for his settlement, so as to prevent an early breach in the government, which would give much satisfaction to the commission. And indeed that had been in Mr. Veitch's thoughts before they proposed it, and was the knocking argument persuading him to obtemperate the sentence. And this was a great encouragement, that after several conferences with some leading persons in the town, wherein he told them, among other differences needless here to be mentioned, that except they would free him of the drawing of the tithes (with which he had got on the finger-ends at Peebles, and " burnt bairns fire dread") and take a tack thereof from him as long as he should continue minister of the place, he could not settle among them,—they at length, consulting among themselves, complied with this; and so he set them a tack of them so long as he was to continue their minister, at the rate that they often had told him the tithes were worth, viz. twenty-two hundred merks *per annum*, out of which he is obliged by charter from the king to pay the second minister 400 merks *per annum*.

But the tacksmen considering among themselves that they had valued these tithes at too high a rate, (it is like to be a temptation to Mr. Veitch to embrace the call *) and that themselves would afterward be losers, got a bond from so many substantial persons in the town, every one of them to pay so much *per annum* as they conjectured would save them from being losers; and so both the tack and bond continue to this day, 1714.

* He means, that they had probably valued the tithes high, with the view of inducing him to accept of their call.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM VEITCH.

THE Memoirs of Mr. Veitch reach to the year 1714; but as he has given only a general account of himself from the Revolution, it may not be improper to commence at that period the statement of the additional facts which have been collected relative to the latter part of his life.

Though the non-conformist ministers enjoyed considerable liberty in preaching during the last two years of the reign of James II., yet it behoved Mr. Veitch to act with great circumspection, as he was liable, if found on Scottish ground, to be seized in consequence of his banishment, and might be informed against as an accomplice

of the Earl of Argyle. The Revolution relieved him from all apprehensions of danger; and, while it enlarged the sphere of his usefulness, added in no small degree to his labours. The people in that part of the country where he had opened a meeting-house, were generally disaffected to the episcopal clergy, and embraced the first opportunity, on the change of the government, or rather on the *inter-regnum*, to forsake the beneficed clergy, with their curates, and to flock to the tents of such presbyterian ministers as were within their reach. Although there were no tumultuous assemblies in the south, similar to what was called the *rabbling* in the west, yet many of the clergy, either apprehending something of this kind, or influenced by some other motive, deserted their churches; and others were soon after removed from theirs, for adhering to the old, or refusing to comply with the orders of the new government. In these circumstances, and when there were neither ministers nor constituted authorities to provide for vacant parishes, Mr. Veitch found himself, for a time, in the situation of the bishop of a diocese, and had to dispense divine ordinances to a whole country-side. His activity at this time, together with the distinguished part which he had taken during the late period of misrule and oppression, led him to be particularly noticed and abused by the advocates of that party who sought to embroil the nation,

and who, for several years, kept two presses constantly employed in London, which teemed with pamphlets, containing accounts of the hardships of the outed episcopal clergy, and satires on the presbyterian ministers and the proceedings of their church courts. The object of that party was, by means of their friends in England, to prevent the court from agreeing to the establishment of the presbyterian church; and, when they had failed in this, to obtain a legal and formal toleration of the episcopal church, under the wings of which they might carry on their plans for overturning the civil government and restoring the exiled family.

Speaking of the applications which the presbyterian ministers, who temporarily served the vacant churches, made for an allowance from the legal stipends, the author of one of the pamphlets above referred to, says: "Thus Mr. William Veitch had been a great sufferer, for why? he had been forced to appear actually in rebellion against King Charles II. at Pictland hills, for which he was not hanged indeed, but declared rebell and fugitive; but now that the fields were fair, and he had endured so much undeserved persecution, would he not have been to blame if he had not studied his own interest? And, therefore, he petitioned for no less than five vacancies, viz. Creiland, Eckfurd, Yettam, Marbottle, and Oxnam. 'Tis true, the council were

so hard-hearted as to grant him only three of them, viz. Creiland, Eckford, and Yettam. This was hard enough; but alas! (though he had confidently affirmed in his petition the contrary,) it was afterwards found that the minister of Creiland had not been deprived before Michaelmas 1689. So that Mr. Veitch could not get that benefice, which was certainly a very disappointing persecution to him."* Now, surely, "the labourer is worthy of his hire;" and it is not uncommon for a person to state a claim on different funds, while yet he expects from them only what he is entitled to in law or in equity. The privy council, by their act of the 24th December 1689, had suspended the payment of stipends to such as "were not in the actual exercise of their ministerial function on the 13th day of April last."† And the parliament, on the 7th of June 1690, declared the churches of these persons to be vacant; "and that the presbyterian ministers, exercising their ministry within any of these parishes, (or where the last incumbent is dead) by the desire or consent of the parish, shall continue their possession, and have right to the benefices and stipends according to their entry in

* Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, anno 1690, p. 67. Lond. 1693.

† Collection of Papers, in Case of the Afflicted Clergy, p. 83. Lond. 1690.

the year 1689, and in time coming, ay and while (until) the church as now established, take farther course therewith." * The parliament, in their act reversing Mr. Veitch's forfeiture, referred him to their committee for fines, to receive a remuneration for his bygone losses.†

A well-known lampoon of that period has the following passage. "It is known in the shire of Teviotdale, that Mr. William Veitch murdered the bodies as well as the souls, of two or three persons with one sermon; for preaching in the town of Jedburgh to a great congregation, he said, 'There are two thousand of you here today, but I am sure fourscore of you will not be saved;' upon which, three of his ignorant hearers, being in despair, dispatched themselves soon after."‡ Those who have read the preceding memoirs will not be inclined to think it likely that the author would preach in the manner which is here imputed to him; and his printed sermons are certainly of a very different complexion. This remark applies also to a ludicrous note ascribed to him in another part of the same publication. §

Mrs. Veitch gives the following account of her husband's call to Peebles.—"A friend of mine,

* Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 134.
† Ibid. p. 199. App. 167.
‡ Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 15.
§ Ibid. p. 85.

being thirty miles off the place where I lived, wrote a letter desiring my husband to come and see her, for she was in a very sad case. He was unwilling to go, but I urged him sore to go; upon which he took horse, and, riding all night, when he came near Peebles, being weary he asked an herdman on the way, Who kept an inn at Peebles. He directed him to Provost Muir's; and when he came and sat down and refreshed himself a little, he and some other strangers began to discourse about Teviotdale. The provost hearing asked, if he knew one Mr. William Veitch that lived there: he said, he knew him. He asked, if he was at home; and he said, 'No, he is not at home.' My husband asked at him, what they would do with him. 'They had a mind to call him for their minister; and they had written a letter, and hired a man, who was going to his house to desire him to come and preach to them on the sabbath day.' My husband told them, 'they needed not to trouble themselves; for they would not get him at home, nor yet to be their minister as he thought, for he had several calls in his own country.' The provost not knowing him, after some more discourse, asked at my husband, if he was the man they were seeking; he told them, he was the man; which made them both to wonder at that piece of providence. He took horse and rode ten miles farther west to see my friend, and they engaged

him to come back that way to preach to them; which he did. After he came home, he told me. I was put to wonder: I was like Abraham's servant, who said, 'it is of the Lord, I can neither say good nor bad.' They drew up a call and sent to him to the synod, where they condescended unto it, and my husband embraced it. But out of this pleasant rose there sprang many a thorn; for both friends and foes were ready to reproach him, which was a trouble to my spirit, to see the people one day idolize him, and on another day reproach him, because he would not stay with them. I went to God with these words which David went with, 'Help, Lord, for I am become a reproach unto them. Let them curse, but bless thou, and let them know it is thy hand, and thou hast done it.' It was my desire to God that he would show the gospel a token for good to Peebles, that they that hated it might see it and be ashamed. But the cloud grew thicker and darker; for Queensberry and his chamberlain were great enemies. They came all that length as to print a number of lies against the presbytery and my husband, because they could not get in one Mr. Knox, who was a curate. The presbytery had placed him, according to the act of parliament, so that his enemies could find no blame in it. He had the call of the elders, heritors, and town council, and the generality of all the people; and he referred his cause to the ge-

neral assembly, but though two assemblies sat, yet not one of them determined about him."*

In a publication against Mr. Veitch (which appears to be the one referred to in the preceding extract) the following reflections are made on the circumstances which led to his call to Peebles. "To shake himself loose of the calls which were referred to the synod of Kelso, he had prevailed with some of his friends to represent his call to Peebles as the effect of an immediate and extraordinary providence; which they did so flourish out in the several circumstances, that it might appear equivalent to a voice from heaven which he ought not to disobey. Whereas, it can be evinced by clear evidences, that it was a draught and design of men, carried on underhand for a considerable time."†

Mr. Veitch has stated that the Duke of Queensberry was the great opponent to his settlement;‡ but his Grace kept in the back ground. The opposition was managed by some of the smaller heritors in support of the alleged rights of Mr. Robert Knox. He, according to the statement of his friends, had officiated as assistant or curate to Mr. John Hay, who destined him for his successor. On the death of Hay, which happened about

* Mrs. Veitch's Mem. pp. 48—54.

† Information for the Heritors, Elders, &c. of the parish of Peebles, against Mr. William Veitch, printed, in a collection of similar papers, about 1690, p. 68.

‡ See before, p. 187.

the time of the Revolution, application was made on behalf of Knox, to Queensberry, the patron, and a favourable answer having been received, "upon the 17th of November 1689, being the Lord's day, after sermon, the session being sitting, and the duke's letter read to them, the whole heritors, elders, and parishioners then present, did unanimously and cheerfully receive the said letter and nomination, and promised to Mr. Knox all the encouragement that could be expected from a dutiful people." * They acknowledge that he wanted the "formality of institution," but plead that the steps taken were sufficient to constitute a relation between him and the parish, "in regard there was no legal ecclesiastical judicatory then in being" to confirm it. That the parish were by no means so unanimous in their desire for Mr. Knox as his friends would represent them, appears from an attempt which was made to prevent him by force from entering the pulpit; and from the ease with which he complied with the first order of the presbytery to desist from the exercise of his ministry.† For, on the 24th of July 1690, on a complaint from the magistrates of Peebles, in the name of the parish, the presbytery found, that Mr. Robert Knox had "taken possession of the kirk of Peebles without any legal or orderly establishment," desired him to for-

* Information, *ut supra*, p. 66.

† Ibid.

bear preaching there, and appointed one of their number to declare the church vacant; all which was peaceably done. * In consequence of a petition from the parish, the presbytery, on the 7th of August, appointed Mr. Robert Elliot to moderate in a call at Peebles; and, on the 2d of September, the moderator reported, "that after sermon, the heritors, magistrates, and kirk session, and the heads of families, did subscribe a call to Mr. William Veitch." Upon this John Balfour of Kailzie renewed a protest which he had taken on the day of the moderation, "in the name of the Duke of Queensberry and several of the heritors," craving that, in respect of the interest of Mr. Robert Knox, nothing might be done in the affair until the next meeting of the general assembly. Being asked for his commission, it was found he had none; and the presbytery considering that Knox "had not the least shadow of a legal establishment as incumbent in Peebles; and that Mr. Veitch's call to the ministry in that place was due and legal; as also, considering the urgency of the plantation of so considerable a place of that country with an able minister of the gospel, and that, in the like cases, inferior judicatories have proceeded notwithstanding of appeals to their superiors, they being always liable to their censure,—resolved to go on in that affair, and to be answerable to the general assembly. The moderator reported that he had,

* Records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

according to appointment, written to Queensberry, who had returned this answer, that they should do in Mr. Veitch's affair as they should be answerable to God." Accordingly, the previous steps having been taken, Mr. Veitch was, on the 18th of September 1690, admitted with the usual solemnities.*

In the preceding memoir we have met with no account of Mr. Veitch's ordination, at his first entrance to the ministry. It was natural for the presbytery to inquire into this before his admission at Peebles; and the following is the account of that matter in the minutes. Mr. Veitch, being desired to produce due testimonials of his ordination to the ministry, answered, "that the hazard and danger was such at the time of his ordination, that it was not thought fit by his ordainers to grant testificates, but promised to bring a testificate from a famous minister's hand, now in Scotland, who was one of that number who gave him ordination; upon which the presbytery, considering how well known he was in this country, and that he had been admitted and owned as a minister by the general meeting of this church, did rest satisfied."† I have no doubt that Mr. Henry Erskine is the person from whom he offered to procure a certificate. In a paper which he appears to have drawn up for the use of Wodrow, Mr. Veitch states, that Mr. Erskine assisted

* Records, *ut supra.*

† Records, *ut supra,* September 17, 1690.

at his ordination.* They were intimate friends; the former was frequently at Mr. Veitch's house in Northumberland; and on these occasions used to entertain him and his wife with anecdotes respecting the straits into which he was often brought with his numerous family, and the singular manner in which he was extricated from them. The following is one of these, as related in the paper referred to. "One evening he, his wife and children, went to bed with a light supper, which made the children cry, in the morning when they awaked, for meat. But there being none in the house, he bade them be still, and he would play them a spring upon the citren (guitar.) He played and wept; and they and their mother wept; they being in one room, and he and his wife in bed in another. But, before he had done playing, one raps at the gate; and it proved to be a servant-man, sent from a worthy and charitable lady, with a horse-load of meal, cheese, and beef."†

It is probable that Mr. Veitch's ordination took place in the year 1671, when he settled at Falalies.‡ He had preached in different parts of Northumberland as early as the end of the year

* Remarkable Providences concerning Mr. Harie Erskine, sent, an. 1718, by Mr. W. Veitch: Wodrow MSS. Advocates Library, Rob. III. 4, 17. Mr. Erskine became minister of Chirnside, in Berwickshire, after the Revolution. He was the father of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, two of the first ministers of the Secession.

† Remarkable Providences, *ut supra*.

‡ See before, p. 59.

1668; * and there is reason to conclude that he had received license to preach before he left Scotland, or during one of his secret journeys into it to see his family. Licenses and ordinations among the nonconformists, both in Scotland and England, were necessarily conducted with great secrecy at this period. Mr. Robert Trail, who had been chaplain to Scot of Scotstarvet, was ordained at London, in the year 1670, by presbyterian ministers. † Mr. Thomas Archer, who was executed at Edinburgh, received his license when he resided as chaplain in the family of Lady Riddel, and was ordained, by Mr. Fleming and other Scottish ministers, in Holland. ‡ William Macmillan of Caldow was licensed by the presbyterian ministers of the county of Down, in Ireland. § Mr. Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine after the Revolution, a person of high respectability, and noticed, when in Holland, by the Prince and Princess of Orange, was licensed at Edinburgh, and ordained by the presbyterian ministers of London, with the view of his going out as a chaplain of the East India Company to the coast

* See before, p. 54; compared with Mr. Veitch's notes in his family Bible.

† Wodrow, i. 442, App. 117. In one of Mr. Trail's note-books, at the beginning of a sermon on Heb. xii. 29, is the following *notandum*:—"London, April 22, 1669. The first time of my preaching at London. On the Thursday before the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper in Mr. Blaikie's congregation." On another sermon is written: "Trial. Ap. 5, 1669."

‡ Wodrow, ii. 258, 553.

§ Ibid. ii. 408.

of Coromandel, where he preached for several years at Fort St. George or Madras. * Mr. Alexander Shields, in the account which he gave of himself to the general meeting of the Society People, states, " that he went to London with an intention to be amanuensis to Dr. Owen, or some other great doctor who was writing books for the press, and had a letter of recommendation to one Mr. Blakie, a Scottish minister, who having trysted to speak with him at a certain season, had several ministers convened, (unknown to Mr. Shields) who did press and enjoin him to take license. So he being carried to it in that sudden and surprising way, accepted of it from the hands of some Scottish ministers then at London, but without impositions or sinful restrictions." † In most of these instances, the facts as to license and ordination were brought out in examinations before the criminal courts.

Notwithstanding the vexation which he received from the family of Queensberry and their dependents, Mr. Veitch appears to have been happy at Peebles. His brethren in the presbytery and synod repeatedly testified their esteem for him. Within eight days after his admission, the presbytery elected him one of their commissioners to the first general assembly held after the Revolution ; and he was chosen to represent them

* Wodrow, ii. 249, 250, 624, 625.

† Minutes of General Meeting of United Societies, p. 72, MS. in Advocates Library.

in the assembly which should have met on the 1st of November, 1691. On the 19th of April, 1693, the presbytery appointed him as "a correspondent from them, to join other correspondents from several presbyteries, who are to meet at Edinburgh about the public concerns of the church."* In the course of the following month he opened the provincial synod of Lothian and Tweedale with a sermon; and was appointed by them to preach before his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, High Commissioner, and the Estates of Parliament. †

On the 10th of June, 1691, "two gentlemen, viz. Alexander Porterfield and Robert Pow," laid on the table of the presbytery of Peebles a call to Mr. Veitch from the parish of Paisley, with reasons for his transportation. They appear to have been very solicitous to obtain him as their minister; for Mr. Matthew Crawfurd, minister of Eastwood, attended the presbytery on one occasion, and John Crawfurd, bailie of Paisley, on another occasion, to prosecute the call. It was carried before the superior courts, and remained for a considerable time undecided. ‡

On the 9th of January, 1694, commissioners from the presbytery of Dumfries, and from the

* Records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

† Two Sermons—by Mr. William Veitch. Edin. 1693.

‡ Records of the Presbytery of Peebles, for June 10, July 1, and 13, 1691.

magistrates, town-council, and kirk-session of that town, presented a call to Mr. Veitch, which the presbytery of Peebles refused to read, as he was absent, but promised that it should be read next day; upon which the commissioners from Dumfries appealed to the general assembly, or the synod, which ever of them should first meet. *—At a public meeting held in the Old Church, on the 5th of February, 1694, the magistrates, town-council, and kirk-session of Edinburgh, elected and subscribed a call to Mr. William Veitch at Peebles, to be one of the ministers of that city, to which the presbytery gave their approbation and concurrence. † When this call was laid before the presbytery of Peebles, and presented to Mr. Veitch, "he would not so much as receive it into his hand, and desired that his refusal might be marked." The reasons of transportation having been transmitted to the magistrates of Peebles, they, in their answers, pleaded an act of assembly, in virtue of which "no inferior judicatory of the church can be judges of any such call as this," and protested that the presbytery should proceed no farther in the matter. The presby-

* Records of Presbytery of Peebles.

† The call was subscribed by the provost, (Sir John Hall) the dean of guild, treasurer, and seventeen other members of council, and by Messrs. James Kirktoun, David Blaire, Jo. Law, J. Moncrieff, Ja. Webster, Jo. Hamiltoune, ministers, and upwards of twenty elders. (Records of Town-council of Edinburgh, 5th, 6th, and 9th of February, 1694.)

tery referred the whole affair to the judges competent; and the commissioners from Edinburgh appealed to the synod, or to the general assembly, provided it should meet first. *

Mr. Veitch attended the general assembly which sat down at Edinburgh on the 29th of March, 1694, and of which he was a member. Through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, who was now re-admitted as an extraordinary lord of session, and in great favour with the government, a final decision had not yet been given on the objections to his settlement at Peebles. The assembly, at this meeting, took up that question, and, in their sixth session, passed an act, declaring his call and admission to be legal. † In the next session, they took into consideration the three calls from Paisley, Dumfries, and Edinburgh; and having preferred the call from Dumfries, appointed Mr. Veitch to remove to that town. ‡ As he testified great backwardness to comply with this decision, some members were allowed to confer with him, "but without prejudice to the assembly's sentence;" and a petition from the parish of Paisley, requesting the assembly to reconsider their decision, or to refer the matter to the commission, was refused. §

* Records of Presbytery of Peebles, for February 7, and 28, and March 21, 1694.

† Acts of General Assembly 1694, p. 27.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 28, 29.

Mr. Veitch could not be more unwilling to go to Dumfries than his predecessor had been to leave it. In October 1690, the general assembly translated Mr. George Campbell from the ministry of that town, to be professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh,—a situation which he was extremely averse to, but for which he was eminently qualified by the "learning and modesty" ascribed to him, even by the avowed detractors of the presbyterian ministers of that period. * It would appear that the parish had remained vacant, after his translation, for four years, owing partly to the scarcity of ministers, and partly to the interruptions suffered by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory during that interval. Mr. Veitch removed to Dumfries with his family in the month of September 1694. † "That very day four years after I came to Peebles," (says Mrs. Veitch) "that very same day I came out of it for Dumfries. I would not have wanted the experience of God's goodness, and free

* Hist. Relation of General Assembly, 1690, p. 47. Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 175. Mr. Campbell had been ejected from Dumfries in 1672; (Wod. i. App. 74. ii. 613.) and died in July, 1701. (Rec. of Town Council of Edinburgh.)

† The parish of Peebles was declared vacant on the 19th of August, 1694. (Records of Presbytery.) On the 16th of September, Mr. Veitch baptized a child at Peebles. Mr. James Thomsone was admitted to the ministry of Peebles on the 25th of November, 1696. (Records of Kirk-session.)

love to me and mine, and the church, for all the trouble I met with in it." *

In October 1695, Mr. Veitch concurred with the kirk-session and magistrates in giving a call to Mr. Robert Paton, minister of Caerlaverock, who was admitted as his colleague in the beginning of the following year. † Mr. Veitch appears to have been much respected in Dumfries-shire, and to have enjoyed the confidence of his brethren as a man of business. He was frequently chosen moderator of the provincial synod. In the end of the year 1695 he was appointed by the presbytery "to wait on the duke of Queensberry, ‡ to solicit his favour with respect to the settlement of stipends, &c.; and reported a favourable and satisfying answer, not only in respect of this corner, but of the government in general." On the 10th of September, 1696, "the presbytery, considering that it is an ancient and laudable custom of this church, to send some of their number to the place where the parliament sits, to concur with such other ministers as may be commissionate from other presbyteries, in things which may be needful for the glory of God and the church's welfare, do hereby commissionate and appoint Mr. William Veitch to attend at Edinburgh for

* Memoir, p. 68.

† Records of kirk-session of Dumfries, 11th and 17th October, 1695, and 13th February, 1696.

‡ James, the second duke, whose father died on the 28th of March, 1695.

that effect during this session of parliament." * His name is on the list of the commission of the general assembly annually from 1694 to 1705. †

A great many, both ministers and people, who were among the heartiest friends of the civil government and of presbytery, disapproved of some things in the settlement of religion in Scotland at the Revolution, although they judged it their duty to join, both in Christian and ministerial communion, with the established church. Their dissatisfaction was increased by various measures which were subsequently adopted by the ecclesiastical judicatories, in concert with or under the influence of the court; particularly, the refusal to approve of the laudable steps of reformation in former times, and to condemn the deviations from them; the loose terms on which many of the episcopal clergy were received; the encroachments made by the court on the liberty of the church in the appointing of fasts and thanksgivings, and in the calling and dissolving of assemblies; and the imposition of different oaths on ministers and preachers, as qualifications for office. ‡ These sentiments were entertained by several ministers in the synods of Dumfries and Galloway, within whose bounds there were also many people connected with the United Societies, who

* Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries.

† Acts of Assembly.

‡ See Memoirs of the Public Life of Mr. James Hogg, *passim*.

kept aloof from the Revolution church, and even disowned the civil government. In October 1693, Mr. Hepburn, minister of Urr, gave in a paper of public grievances to the synod; and he was subsequently prosecuted both before the synod and the general assembly, and even imprisoned for some time, for freedoms used by him from the pulpit in censuring the defections of the church, and for preaching and baptizing without the bounds of his own parish.* He was ultimately deposed, as was also Mr. John Macmillan, minister of Balmaghie, who subsequently joined the Cameronians, and organized them under the Reformed Presbytery. Mr. Veitch was engaged in the controversial warfare with Mr. Hepburn; but I have not seen his pamphlet.† In October 1703, a petition was laid before the synod of Dumfries, craving that steps might be taken for renewing the National Covenant. The synod approved of the zeal of the petitioners, and appointed some of their number to consult the commission, and advise with grave, godly, and experienced ministers; and that, in the mean time, all the brethren should instruct their flocks in the nature of the covenant. It was reported at next meeting, that the commission having

* Records of the Synod of Dumfries for the years 1693—1705. Acts of General Assembly during the same period.

† An answer by Mr. Hepburn to a pamphlet of Mr. William Veitch is preserved in MS. in the Advocates Library.

risen suddenly, their advice had not been obtained, but that it was the opinion of the grave and experienced ministers, that it was a very unfavourable juncture for that work. Another petition, presented by four ministers, for subscribing the directory and covenants, along with the confession of faith, was referred by the synod, in October 1708, to the general assembly.* Similar proposals for renewing or subscribing the national covenants continued to be made at a still later period, in several presbyteries and synods, in the west and north of Scotland.† Even the statesmen, cautious as they were, had at one time nearly engaged themselves unwittingly in the promoting of that design. In the year 1696, on the alarm produced by the discovery of a plot for assassinating King William, and by a threatened invasion from France, the privy council of Scotland proposed the subscription of a bond of association by all well-affected subjects. Coming to the knowledge of this, the inhabitants of the western shires immediately drew up a bond, in which, to the engagement to defend the government, they added a clause respecting the defence of presbytery. This alarmed the managers. "I expunged these words, (says the Lord Justice Clerk,) and

* Records of Synod of Dumfries.

† Glass's Narrative of the Controversy about the National Covenants, pp. 8, 109. Apology for the Church of Scotland, by J. W. against J. S. p. 46. Lawson's Letter, p. 28.

withal desired they might forbear to proceed hastily in the business."—"As to these associations in the country, (says the Earl of Argyle,) I think, suppose one here for renewing the covenant, it is most improper at this time. I acknowledge, I incline not the length, though I am presbyterian."*

Mr. Veitch's daughters having married into genteel and wealthy families, and his sons having been provided for, he felt himself placed in easy circumstances in his old age, and had it in his power to do favours to some persons from whom he had formerly experienced little kindness. Some time after he settled at Dumfries, he received a visit from his old acquaintance Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, who had apprehended him in Northumberland. † Sir Theophilus lamented to him, that he had lost not only what he had received for seizing him, and for his other services under the former government, but all his property besides. Mr. Veitch forgave him any injury which he had done him, and made the humbled knight a handsome present. ‡ Oglethorp's statement of his case appears to have been correct. In 1681, the parliament had granted to him, colonel Maine, and captain Cornwall, "for their good, faithful, and acceptable services," the forfeited lands of Gordon of Earlston, Gordon of Craich-

* Carstairs's State Papers, pp. 287—289.

† See before, p. 69.

‡ Notices attached to genealogical tree of the family.

law, and Ferguson of Kaitloch.* Before 1685, Oglethorp had purchased the shares of his fellow-officers ; † and accordingly would lose the money which he had advanced them, when the estates were restored to their original owners at the Revolution.‡

Mr. Veitch appears to have been of a robust constitution ; but his health began to fail in 1709, being the seventieth year of his age. In the beginning of the following year, " being under great indisposition of body," he engaged, with the consent of the session and presbytery, Mr. John Thomson, and afterwards successively Mr. John Veitch § (probably a relation of his own) and Mr. Patrick Linn, probationers, as his assist-

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. viii. p. 323, 492.

† Ibid. p. 586.

‡ Gordon of Craichlaw and Ferguson had previously compounded with him for a considerable sum ; and, on their petition, the Scottish parliament recommended their case to the parliament and judicatures of England, to the end that " Colonel Ogelthorp may be obliged to refund the above-mentioned sum, paid upon a ground which is, by act of parliament, generally rescinded in favours of the subjects of this kingdom." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 191, 202.) The derangement of his affairs was probably one reason why these gentlemen were so long frustrated in their claims, as formerly stated. (See before, p. 69.) Sir Theophilus Oglethorp married Eleanora Wall, a grand-daughter of the Marquis of Argyle. His three sons had commissions in the army during the reign of Queen Anne. (Thoresby's Leeds, by Whittaker, p. 253.)

§ Mr. John Veitch, minister of Whitsom, was a correspondent from Merse and Teviotdale to the synod of Dumfries, in April 1716.

ants. The last named individual was ordained as one of the ministers of Dumfries on the 19th of May, 1715; and on the same day Mr. Veitch demitted his charge on account of his age and infirmities; reserving, however, a right to preach occasionally.* After this he sat no more in the session, but still retained his seat in the presbytery and synod.

Some time previous to this, a disagreeable variance had arisen between him and his colleague, Mr. Paton, in which Mr. Linn came also to be involved. It originated in a dispute about the right to a burying-ground. After being settled by arbitration, it again broke out, in consequence (as Mr. Veitch alleges in his papers) of his colleagues refusing to employ him to preach, because he bowed in the pulpit, after divine service, to the English governor and officers, whereas Paton and Linn confined that mark of respect to the magistrates. It is pretty evident, from the manner in which he conducted himself in this quarrel, and especially at the last stage of it, that his temper and mental faculties had begun to suffer in no small degree from his advanced age. In the year 1719, he carried the cause by appeal from the synod to the general assembly. The assembly were sensible of the impropriety

* Records of Presbytery of Dumfries for Jan. 3, 1710; and of Kirk-Session of Dumfries, Jan. 1, and Dec. 14, 1710; Oct. 1, 1713; and March 29, 1715.

of their giving judgment on it; but they testified their respect for Mr. Veitch, by appointing their moderator to address the following letter to each of his colleagues. *

"Rev. and Dear Brother,—The very Rev. Mr. William Veitch having laid before the committee of bills, an appeal from your synod, was, from a regard to peace, and the earnest desire of that committee, prevailed upon to drop it, and rest satisfied with an overture that the general assembly should write unto you, which, according to their appointment, I do: signifying that our worthy brother having served in the work of the ministry for the space of fifty-two years, and during the worst of times; and when exposed to the greatest danger from the violence of persecution, did acquit himself therein with a distinguished zeal and faithfulness, and having demitted his charge by reason of infirmity and old age, with an express reservation of liberty to preach when he desired, the general assembly recommends unto you, to carry toward him with that endearing brotherly love and tenderness which his merit so justly challenges, and that, when his strength will permit, and he himself desires, and gives you

* The letter was drawn up, at the appointment of Assembly, by four ministers, with the advice of the Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Pencaitland.

timeous advertisement, ye may allow him to preach: And this we hope will be of use to maintain that Christian love and friendship, which on all occasions ought to take place among the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. And we question not but, as an evidence of your brotherly regard to him, all proper care will be taken by you to have a decent place of interment provided for him and his spouse. This, in name and at the appointment of the general assembly, is signed by, R. D. B., your affectionate brother and servant in the Lord,

(Signed) JAMES GRIERSON, *Mod.*"*

Mr. Veitch was able to travel to Edinburgh to attend that meeting of assembly, but he was not present at any subsequent meeting of his presbytery or synod. He died in the month of May 1722, on the day after his wife; the former having completed his eighty-second, and the latter her eighty-fourth year.† They had been married fifty-eight years, and were both interred on the same day, in the Old Church of Dumfries, and in the burial-place which the kirk-session had

* Papers of Mr. Veitch, in possession of Mr. Short, town-clerk of Dumfries, and obligingly communicated by him.

† "Maij 1722. Mr. William Veitch, minister of the gospel, and Marion Fairley, his spouse." (Register of Burials in Dumfries, between 5th and 12th of May, 1722.)

allotted to them, according to the recommendation of the general assembly. *

The only printed work of Mr. Veitch which I have seen, consists of three sermons preached by him on public occasions. † They are pious and sensible discourses. He had ten children, four of whom died young. Elizabeth, his second daughter, was married to David Macculloch of Ardwall. ‡ Sarah, his third daughter, became the wife of James Young of Guiliehill, § from whom Samuel Denholm Young, Esq. of Guiliehill, is descended. And Agnes, his fourth daughter, married Mr. John Somerville, minister of Caerlaverock.

* Narrative attached to a genealogical tree of the family; and Record of Kirk-session for Feb. 2, 1721.

† The title of the work is—"Two Sermons preached before his Majestie's High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament. By the appointment of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Upon Sabbath, the 7th of May, 1693. Unto which is subjoined, the Sermon preached at the opening up of the Synod, May 2, 1693. By Mr. William Vetch, Minister of Peebles. From Haggai ii. 4, and Col. iv. 17. Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid. Anno 1693." 12mo. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, High Commissioner.—A copy of this book is in the possession of Mr. William Steven, a young man who has already discovered a laudable, and not very common, curiosity to become acquainted with the history of the church of Scotland, of which he is a licentiate.

‡ In a genealogical tree of the family, it is stated that Ebenezer, son of Elizabeth Veitch, married a sister of Macdowal of Freuch, afterwards earl of Dumfries.

§ "February 23, 1699. Baptised William, lawful son of James Young of Goolihill and Sarah Veitch, daughter of Mr. William Veitch." (Records of Kirk-Session of Dumfries.)

Mr. Charles Sheriff, the dumb miniature-painter, was her grandson; and the present representative of the family is W. Henderson Somerville, Esq. of Fingask and Whitecroft. *

Mr. Veitch's two eldest sons, William and Samuel, were sent to him when he was in Holland, and he left them behind him to prosecute their education at one of the Dutch universities. Their parents had destined them for the church, but the young men chose the army, and when the Prince of Orange came over to England in 1688, they held commissions under him. † Both of them served in Flanders during the war with France, which broke out after the Revolution. William was a lieutenant in Angus's or the Cameronian regiment, and was wounded in 1692, at the battle of Steinkirk, in which his colonel, the earl of Angus, along with many of his brave comrades, was killed. "On the day after the battle he wrote to his father, that he was shot through the left cheek, an inch below the eye, and the ball falling into his mouth, he spat it out. The marks of the blood from the wound were upon his letter." ‡ Referring to the battle of Landen or Nerwinden, which was fought in 1693, Mrs. Veitch says: "Word came, that King William and the King of France were going to fight; and my two eld-

* Notes on family Bible; and Genealogical Tree.

† Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 9, 32.

‡ Ibid. p. 55.

est sons being in the camp, when I heard that there were so many killed, I was in great fear. Near five weeks after they sent a letter, telling that they were both living." * On the termination of the war by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, William reached home, after escaping from the most imminent danger from shipwreck. His brother Samuel lay dangerously ill in Holland, but recovering soon after, joined the family at Dumfries. †

At the time of their return, the attention of the people of Scotland was engrossed with the projected settlement of a colony in South America, under the direction of the Indian and African Company, which had been incorporated two years before by act of parliament.‡ The scheme originated with William Paterson, a Scotsman possessed of true genius, united to great personal modesty and simplicity of character, who selected a spot on the Isthmus of Darien, where the land separating the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean is narrowest, as the site of a colony of his countrymen, which promised, to his eager and discriminating eye, to become the emporium of the commerce of the world. All classes in the nation embarked eagerly in this scheme, some actuated by the hope of making a fortune, and others by the nobler wish of promoting the honour of their country and ex-

* Mrs. Veitch's Mem. pp. 61, 62. † Ibid. p. 63.
‡ Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 377.

tending the gospel. Among others, William and Samuel Veitch offered their personal services, and obtained the rank of captain in the forces which the company were authorised by their charter to raise. Though William Veitch had, in addition to his rank in the army, received a commission to act as one of the council for governing the colony, and had taken the oath of office, he was prevented from going out with the first expedition.* But his brother Samuel went in the fleet, which consisted of three ships and two yachts, and sailed from Leith Roads about the 17th of July, 1698, having on board 1200 men, of whom 300 were gentlemen.† On the 3d of No-

* In a scurrilous pamphlet, by one who had been a surgeon aboard the fleet in the first expedition, and who afterwards hired himself to the English as a writer against the Scots colony, Paterson and the counsellors are treated with the most ignorant and low abuse. "Veach, a man of no trade, but advanced to this post on the account his father was a godly minister, and a glorifier of God, I think, in the Grass-market. ——— Veach, being sick of the voyage, stayed at home; and on this occasion William Paterson was assumed into the senate in Veach's place, after we had got so far as the Madera's on our voyage.—I had almost forgot to tell you of our clergy, with whom I ought in good manners to have begun. Two ministers, with a journeyman to take up the psalm, were commissioned by the General Assembly, with full instructions, I suppose, to dispose of the Bibles among the Indians.—English Bibles 1500; periwigs 4000, some long, some short, Campaigns, Spanish bobs, and natural ones," &c. (Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien, pp. 22, 34—37.)

† Caledonia Papers, series i. art. 1. 3. 4: MSS. in Advocates Library, Jac. V. 2. 12. Carstairs, State Papers, p. 392. Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 69. The fleet was composed of the Caledonia,

vember they landed between Portobello and Carthagena, at a fine harbour, four miles from the Golden Island; and having taken possession of the country, to which they gave the name of New Caledonia, proceeded to lay the foundation of a fort and a town, called Fort St. Andrew and New Edinburgh.* They made it their earliest business to establish friendly treaties with the chiefs of the neighbouring native tribes;† and afterwards sent deputations to the Spanish authorities at Panama and Carthagena, to intimate their wish to live with them on terms of amity and reciprocal intercourse.‡ The proclamation of the council, made at New Edinburgh, on the 28th of December, 1698, presents us with the singular and interesting fact, of the first colony established by any European people on liberal principles as to trade, policy, and religion. The following are extracts from it.

"We do hereby publish and declare, That all

St. Andrew, and Unicorn, company's ships, and Dolphin and Endeavour, advice yachts or tenders.

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 17.

† Caled. Pap. ser. ii. art. 39. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 249. History of Caledonia, by a Gentleman lately arrived, pp. 21—34. Lond. 1699.

‡ Letter from Council of Caledonia to the Governor of Santa Maria, Feb. 15, 1699: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 16. Address of Council of Caledonia to his Majesty: Collection of Addresses, &c. p. 75. Paterson's Letter to a Friend in Boston, Feb. 18, 1699: Enquiry into Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 74.

manner of persons of what nation or people soever, are and shall from hence-forward be equally free and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of government granted unto us; and the merchants and merchants' ships of all nations, may freely come to and trade with us, without being liable in their persons, goods, or effects, to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition, for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of mark, or reprizals, declaration of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever.

"And we do hereby not only grant, concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations, who shall hereafter be of, or concerned with us; but also a full and free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at or indulge the blaspheming of God's holy name, or any of his divine attributes; or of the unhallowing or prophaning the sabbath day.

"And finally, as the best and surest means to render any government successful, durable, and happy, it shall (by the help of Almighty God) be ever our constant and chiefest care that all our further constitutions, laws, and ordinances, be consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture,

right reason, and the examples of the wisest and justest nations, that from the righteousness thereof, we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of prosperity and increase." *

The founders of the colony may be thought to have carried their ideas of liberty rather too far in some things, or, at least, not to have attended duly to what was expedient in the case of a new establishment, consisting of persons entirely unacquainted with one another, and strangers to the measures which were essential to their safety and subsistence in circumstances so peculiar and so unlike to those in which they had hitherto been placed. The council were authorised, or rather instructed, to *call a parliament.* The fifth article of the constitution runs in the following terms :—" That after their landing and settlement as aforesaid, they (the council) shall class and divide the whole freemen, inhabitants of the said colony, into districts, each district to contain at least fifty, and not exceeding sixty freemen, inhabitants, who shall elect yearly any one freeman, inhabitant, whom they shall think fit to represent them in a parliament or council-general of the said colony; which parliament shall be called or adjourned by the said council as they see cause, and being so constitute, may, with consent of the said council, make and enact such rules, ordinances, and con-

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 4.

stitutions, and impose such taxes, as they shall think fit and needful for the good establishment, improvement, and support of the said colony; providing always they lay no farther duties or impositions of trade than what is here under expressed."* The parliament actually met, and had at least two sessions. During the first session, on the 24th of April, 1699, it enacted thirty-four laws for the regulation of civil and criminal justice in the colony. Along with a desire to preserve a high tone of public morals, they discover great jealousy in guarding personal liberty. The violation of women, though belonging to an enemy, is made capital. The plundering of Indians is to be punished as theft. Ingratitude is stigmatized. "No man shall be confined or detained prisoner for above the space of three months, without being brought to a lawful trial." In all cases criminal, no judgment shall pass against any man "without the consent and concurrence of a

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 4. After January 1, 1702, imports of European, Asian, or African goods, in ships of Scotland or the colony, shall pay 2 per cent. and in other ships 3 per cent. Imports of the growth and product of American plantations, of what nation soever, 1 per cent. Exports of growth of Asia, Africa, or America, in Scots or colonial vessels, shall pay 2 per cent. and in other vessels 4 per cent. After reserving 1-20th of the lands, and of precious metals, stones, and wood, pearl-fishing, and wrecks, "the company communicate to the colony, and its dependencies which it may plant, all their privileges secured by act of Parliament." (Ibid.)

jury of fifteen fit persons." The person of a freeman shall not be subject to any restraint whatever for debt, "unless there shall be fraud or the design thereof, or wilful or apparent breach of trust, misapplication, or concealment, first proved upon him."*

On the subject of the parliament, Mackay, one of the counsellors, writes to the secretary of the directors, "We found the inconvenience of calling a parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they were freemen so soon. They had not the true notion of liberty: the thoughts of it made them insolent, and ruined command. You know that it's expressly in the encouragements, that they are to serve three years, and at the three years' end to have a division of land." Mackay accordingly signified it as his opinion, that the parliament should not be convoked till the end of that period.† One great objection to that measure, and indeed the principal cause of the ruin of the colony, was the character of the greater part of the settlers. No care had been taken in their selection. The young men of birth, who formed too large a proportion of the colony, were unfit for commanding, and too proud to submit to authority. And, among the lower orders were many Highlanders and others

* Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 37. This curious document will be found at length in the Appendix.

† Ibid. ser. ii. art. 4. Mackay's letter was written in Scotland, and the parliament had been called soon after he left the colony.

who had taken part against the Revolution, and were induced to join the expedition by dissatisfaction with the government at home. The idle, the unprincipled, and profligate, were at no loss to find persons to recommend them among the numerous holders of shares in the company. Nor were the persons nominated as counsellors, and especially such of them as were naval officers, qualified for that situation. It was not until after a long struggle that Paterson prevailed on his colleagues to exercise the right vested in them, by assuming other individuals into the government along with them, of whom Samuel Veitch was one.* "There was not one of the old council fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took place." †

That the Spaniards would be jealous of a colony planted so near their possessions, and would do every thing in their power to weaken and extirpate it, was what the Scots were prepared for; but they did not expect the same treatment from the Dutch, whose Stadtholder they had lately made a king, or (which was still more galling) from their neighbours and brethren, the English. Sir Paul Rycaut, the English resident at Hamburgh, had opposed a treaty of commerce between that town and the

* Paterson's Report to the Directors, on his return: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.

† Paterson to Shields, Edinb. Feb. 6, 1700: Ibid. ser. iii. art. 54.

Scottish company;* and the governors of Jamaica and the other plantations of England in the West Indies and North America, now issued proclamations, prohibiting all intercourse with the colonists of New Caledonia and the furnishing of them with provisions or necessaries of any kind, and tending to excite the Spaniards against them as unauthorised intruders on their possessions.† To these discouragements, and the alarm of an attack from Panama, were added the difficulties which every infant colony must struggle with, and for which the most of the settlers, both of the better and poorer class, were ill prepared. A great part of the provisions which they had brought with them was found to be bad; it was necessary to put them on short allowance; the diseases to which Europeans are incident in a tropical climate made their appearance; a spirit of insubordination broke out; and a conspiracy, having for its object the seizing of one of the vessels and leaving the colony, and in which some of the counsellors were involved, was discovered.‡

Soon after their arrival, Paterson had proposed sending captain Veitch home to represent their

* Collection of Addresses, Memorials, &c. relating to the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, pp. 4—32. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 242, 243.

† Collection, ut supra, pp. 77—90. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 251.

‡ Letter from the Council of Caledonia to the Directors, April 21, 1699: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 13.

situation to the directors; but he was overruled, and a Mr. Hamilton was sent, which proved a great injury to the colony, as he was "accomptant-general, and the only person fit for that employment and for the management of the cargoes, at this time in disorder." * After the assumption of new counsellors in March following, the discontents were checked, and the council dispatched Mackay, one of their own number, to Britain, with an address to his Majesty, and a pressing request to the directors to send out with all expedition supplies of provision, ammunition, and men.† But no word arriving from home, and the internal state of the colony becoming worse, the council suffered themselves to be hurried into the dastardly resolution of evacuating the settlement, which was carried into effect on the 23d of June, 1699, within eight months from the time that they had taken possession of it. ‡ This was a blow which almost proved fatal to the vigorous intellect of Paterson. When the minute of council agreeing to this step was brought to him to sign, he was on board the Unicorn, to which he had been conveyed some days before, in a high fever, brought on by vexation at the weakness of his

* Paterson's Report to the Directors, Dec. 19, 1699; Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.

† Ibid. "Samuel Veach" signs the council's address, sent by Mackay, who left the colony "on the 10th or 11th of April." Collection of Addresses, &c. p. 76.

‡ Caled. Papers, ser. i. 71.

colleagues, and grief at the sudden frustration of his sanguine hopes.* The depression of his spirits continued after the fever had abated;† but having recovered the tone of his mind at New York, he sailed for Scotland to make his report to the company, and give them his best advice in the further prosecution of their undertaking. Samuel Veitch, who accompanied him from Darien, remained at New York, a circumstance which appears to have made an unfavourable impression on the minds of the directors.‡ His conduct, in subsequently declining to accompany his comrade Drummond, even after he had heard that his brother was on the passage to Darien, gives ground to believe that, though a brave and skilful officer, he was deficient in that political courage and resolution which were requisite for discharging the difficult trust committed to him.§

* "Captain Thomas Drummond and captain Samuel Veitch had met with Pennycook and Campbell, and held their last council, (June 18,) and brought orders to Paterson to sign for their departure by Boston to Scotland." (Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.)

† "Sept. 29, 1699.—Meantime the grief has broke Mr. Paterson's heart and brain; and now he's a child, they may do what they will for him." (Letter from J. Borland, Boston: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 19.)

‡ Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74. In this paper the Directors say, "Capt. Sam. Veitch having thought fit to stay behind at New York, and giving us but shuffling accounts of these matters, (the cargo) we wish that Capt. Drummond, who was the only other counsellor there, would give us the best light he can into that matter."

§ "Mr. Samuel Veatch acquainted me (says Paterson) that he would look after the effects put ashore—and that by that means he

After hearing from the council of Caledonia, the directors lost no time in sending out the requisite supplies for their colony. They had previously sent dispatches and provisions by a brig which sailed from the Clyde on the 24th of February 1699, but which unfortunately never reached the place of its destination.* On the arrival of Hamilton, Jamieson of the Olive-Branch, accompanied by another vessel, containing 300 recruits, well equipped with provisions, arms, and ammunition, was dispatched with all possible expedition.† He was followed by a larger fleet, consisting of four ships, and containing 1300 men, which sailed from the Isle of Bute on the 24th of September 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay on the 30th of November.‡ With this fleet William Veitch went out, in the Rising Sun, commanded by James Gibson, and in the double ca-

would be in readiness to go back to the colony when he should receive the company's orders." (Caled. Pap. ser. ii. art. 20.)

* Secret Committee of the Council General to the Council of Caledonia: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 5. Borland's History of Darien, p. 22, 26.

† Sailed from Leith, May 12, 1699. Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 14.

‡ Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 30. The fleet consisted of the Rising Sun, Hope, Duke Hamilton, and Hope of Borrowstonness. Just as they were about to set sail, intelligence of the evacuation of the colony reached the Directors, who sent an express to stop them; but they, "for reasons best known to themselves," had sailed hastily, twenty-four hours before Mackay, one of the former counsellors, could reach Bute with additional instructions founded on his local knowledge. (Ibid. ser. i. art. 74.)

pacity of captain and a member of the council.* The directors also sent off individuals, by different conveyances, with bills of credit for the use of the colony.† But providence frowned on all their attempts. The recruits in the Olive-Branch and her consort, finding the settlement deserted, determined to repossess it, and await the arrival of the fleet which was to follow; but one of their vessels having been burnt in the harbour, they relinquished the attempt, and set sail for Jamaica.‡ When the fleet arrived, those who were on board were thrown into the greatest perplexity. The prospect was indeed sufficiently discouraging to persons who expected to find a colony planted, and ready to receive them. The huts were burned down; the fort dismantled and dilapidated; the ground which had been cleared, was again overgrown with shrubs and weeds; and all the tools and instruments of husbandry were taken away.§ A general demand to be immediately conducted home was raised in the ships, which was encouraged by Byres, one of the most forward and bustling members of the council; and it was with the utmost difficulty that captain Veitch prevailed on his colleagues to land the men.‖ In this he was

* Ibid. ser. i. art. 83. Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 71.

† Ibid. Short and Impartial View, pp. 9—13.

‡ Caled. Pap. ser. i. art. 74. Borland's History of Darien, p. 28.

§ Borland, p. 29.

‖ Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 67.

greatly assisted by Thomas Drummond, an enterprising officer and one of the former counsellors, who, having learned at New York that supplies were on their way from Scotland, had returned to the colony in a sloop with provisions, and collected six or seven resolute fellows belonging to the Olive-Branch, who had determined to remain in the place, and live among the natives until the Rising Sun's party should arrive.*

As the Spaniards had openly testified their hostility to the colony by sending troops against the former settlers, † and were now busily employed in preparations for invading it, Drummond proposed to anticipate them by an immediate attack on Porto Bello, which they could easily reduce. This bold measure would have inspired the colonists with confidence in themselves, and supplied them with the resources which they were most in want of. It met with the approbation of Veitch, but was defeated by the timidity of some of his colleagues, and by the factious disposition of Byres, who delighted to thwart the views of Drummond, and who, taking advantage of certain words

* Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 8. Borland, 25, 30, 34. The court of directors expressed their warmest approbation of "these gentlemen's frankness and merit, in having so just and tender a regard to the honour of their country, and the interest of our company and colony." (Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74.)

† Captain James Montgomery defeated a party of Spaniards within the territories of the Indian captain Pedro, on the 6th of February, 1699. Caled. Pap. ser. ii. art. 2.

in the instructions of the directors, rendered ambiguous by the recent desertion of the settlement, succeeded in excluding him from the council.*

Two ministers, Messrs. James and Scot, had been sent out with the first expedition, one of whom died on the passage, and the other soon after his arrival at Darien. The council having written home to the directors, regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the commission of the general assembly, at the particular desire of the board of directors, missioned the well-known Mr. Alexander Shields, and three other ministers, who sailed in the last fleet.† They were instructed, on their arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the government, to set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving; to form themselves into a presbytery; to ordain elders and deacons; and to divide the colony into parishes, that so each minister might have a particular charge. After which it was recommended to them, "so

* Queries by Drummond, in his accusation of Byres: Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 66. Borland, 44. The committee appointed by the board of directors to inquire into this affair decided against Byres, and appealed, among other proofs, to the letters of Shields. Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 44. He afterwards attempted, but without success, to vindicate his conduct, in "A Letter to a Friend in Edinburgh from Rotterdam—by James Byres;" printed anno 1702. Byres was a merchant. Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 42.

† Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 7, 31, 32. Letter, Robert Wylie to Mr. Shields: MSS. in Advocates Library, Rob. III. 3, 6. art. 145. Borland, 22, 34.

soon as they should find the colony in case for it, to assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together for solemn prayer and fasting, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness to avouch the Lord to be their God, and dedicate themselves and the land to the Lord." They were also particularly instructed to "labour among the natives, for their instruction and conversion, as they should have access."* The circumstances in which they found the colony, precluded them from thinking of carrying the most of these instructions into execution. Two of them, however, preached on land, and one of them on board the Rising Sun, every Sabbath; but the irreligion and licentiousness which prevailed among the colonists, in addition to the unfavourable aspect of their external affairs, oppressed their spirits, and paralysed their exertions. They undertook a journey into the interior, in company with lieutenant Turnbull, who had a slight knowledge of the Indian language, with the view of becoming acquainted with the natives; and having spent some nights with them in their cabins, brought back the first word to the colony of the approach of the Spaniards.†

* Copy of the Commission to the Presbytery of Caledonia, in Borland, pp. 34—37.

† Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 43. Borland, 38, 40, 44—49.

When apprised of all the circumstances, the directors felt indignant at the conduct of those, who, on such slight grounds, had left the settlement desolate, and "whose glory" (to use their own emphatic language) "it would have been to have perished there rather than to have abandoned it so shamefully." In their letters to the new counsellors and officers they implored them to keep the example of their predecessors before their eyes as a beacon, and to avoid those ruinous dissensions and disgraceful vices on which they had wrecked so hopeful an enterprise. They blame the old council for deserting the place, "without ever calling a parliament or general meeting of the colony, or consulting their inclinations in the least, but commanding them to a blind and implicit obedience; which is more than they ever can be answerable for. Wherefore (continue they) we desire you would constitute a parliament, whose advice you are to take in all important matters. And in the mean time you are to acquaint the officers and planters with the constitutions, and the few additional ones sent with Mr. Mackay, that all and every person in the colony may know their duty, advantages, and privileges."* Alarmed at the accounts which they soon after received from Darien, the council-general of the company dispatched a proclamation, declaring that it shall

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74.

be lawful to any person of whatever degree inhabiting the colony, not only to protest against, but to disobey and oppose, any resolution to desert the colony; "and that it shall be death either publicly or privately to move, deliberate, or reason upon" any such desertion or surrender, without special order from the council-general for that effect. And they order and require the council of Caledonia to proclaim this solemnly, as they shall be answerable.* But before these orders were issued, the event which the company dreaded so much had taken place.

Though the men were now busily employed in rebuilding the huts and repairing the fort, strenuous efforts to discourage the work continued to be made in the council, by the faction which sought the evacuation of the settlement. It was with difficulty that captain Veitch was allowed to protest against some of their resolutions;† and for opposing them with warmth, captain Drummond was laid under arrest. Speaking of the

* The proclamation bears to have been "Given at the Company's house in Edinburgh, the 3d day of June, 1700." Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 69. "The unaccountable manner in which your predecessors left the settlement has been—detestable to this nation in general, and to our company in particular," say the directors to the council. Ibid. ser. i. art. 93. Owing to the "unaccountable conduct and intolerable insolence in their double capacities," of the commanders of the first ships, the directors had come to the resolution that none of the counsellors should have any other capacity. Ibid. ser. iii. art. 65.

† Ibid. ser. i. art. 66, 69. ii. 29.

latter, Mr. Shields says,—" Under God it is owing to him, and the prudence of captain Veitch, that we have staid here so long, which was no small difficulty to accomplish."* And in another letter, written a few days after, he says,—" If we had not met with him, (Drummond,) at our arrival, we had never settled in this place: Byres and Lindsay being averse from it, and designing to discourage it, from the very first: Gibson being indifferent, if he get his pipe and dram: only Veitch resolved to promote it, who was all along Drummond's friend, and concurred with his proposal to send men against the Spaniards at first, and took the patronizing of his cause as long as he could conveniently, but with such caution and prudence, as to avoid and prevent animosity and faction, (which he saw unavoidable,) threatening the speedier dissolution of this interest, if he should insist on the prosecution of that plea, and in opposition to that speat that was running against Drummond. But now Fanab † coming, who was Drummond's comrade and fellow-officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders, he is set at liberty." ‡

* Letter about the beginning of March, 1700: Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 68.

† Alexander Campbell of Fanab had been Lieut. Colonel, and Thomas Drummond, a Captain, in Argyle's regiment. (Act. Parl. Scot. xi. 174. App. 61.)

‡ Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 67.

In the mean time the Spanish troops from Panama and Santa Maria advanced by land against the colony, being conducted through the woods by Indians and Negroes. Captain Campbell of Fanab, at the head of 200 men, drove them back in a skirmish in which he was wounded; but a fleet of eleven ships, under the command of Don Juan Pimienta, the governor of Carthagena, having blockaded the harbour, and landed a reinforcement at some distance, they again advanced, and invested the fort.* Being cut off from water, reduced by sickness, and in despair of relief from home, the garrison were loud in their demands for a capitulation, to which the council were constrained to agree. Accordingly captain Veitch, being duly authorised by his colleagues, entered into a capitulation with the Spanish commander, to evacuate the settlement on honourable terms.† The in-

* Caled. Papers, ser. iii. 68. Borland, 59.

† The resolution to capitulate was agreed to on the 18th of March, at a meeting of council in the fort, attended by the land and sea officers. (Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 83.) The following is the commission to Veitch:—"We undersubscribing, counsellors of Caledonia, doe hereby empower you, Captain William Veitch, one of our number, to goe to the Spanish camp, and there with his Excellencie Don Juan Pimienta, general of the army and governor of Carthagena, to treat, capitulate, and agree upon what articles you shall find most convenient for our leaving our settlement here, and what you doe herein we obleige ourselves to perform. In testimony whereof," &c. March 21, 1700. (Ib. i. 97.) The articles of capitulation, which were subscribed on the 31st of March, are published by Borland. (Hist. pp. 66—68.)

habitants of the colony having gone on board, with all their goods and provisions, they weighed anchor on the 11th of April, 1600, and sailed for Jamaica, after having occupied Caledonia about four months and a half. During the siege "captain Veitch had the great burden of affairs lying on him, because captain Gibson tarried most part aboard his ship;" and the other counsellors either were dead, had left the colony, or refused to act.* Having sailed in the company's ship the Hope, Veitch died at sea, before the vessel was wrecked on the rocks of Colorades, on the western coast of Cuba. All parties agreed in paying an honourable tribute to the memory of captain William Veitch. "He was a sober, discreet, and prudent man, (says Borland) but broken with the many crosses and burdens he met with in this undertaking."† And Byres, whose measures he had all along resisted, says, "I know that captain Veitch was very faithful,

* Borland, 65.

† Ibid. 84. He came on board the Margaret of Dundee on the 8th of July; (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 50.) and probably died soon after. Lieutenant Turnbull, in his deposition given in to the Directors of the Company after his return to Scotland, "declares that when Captain William Veitch died on board of the Company's ship the Hope, he had two bags of money in his chest, belonging (as he believes upon credible grounds) to Archibald Stewart;" that the key was given him by the deceased; that he did not think himself at liberty to deliver it or the money up, except to Veitch's father or the Directors; but that Captain Colin Campbell, as eldest officer, requiring it "in a commanding manner," he was forced to yield, after taking a protest before witnesses. (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 43.)

and laid out all he received on the company's goods duly for the men's provisions." * The Rising Sun was wrecked on the bar of Carolina, and the captain, crew, and passengers, with the exception of sixteen persons who had previously landed, were lost.†

Thus unfortunately terminated the only attempt at colonization ever made by the nation of Scotland. Its failure produced a ferment at home, which it required all the arts and influence of the court to allay. ‡ The scheme was ruined by the first desertion of the settlement, and that was owing chiefly to disunion and want of energy in the council. If the directors had taken care to put the government of the colony at first into good hands; if they had placed a man of capacity at their head for a limited time; if they had sent out advices and supplies early and frequently; and if England had acted with a moderate share of liberality, or rather foresight, it would not have been in the power of Spain to mar the success of the settlement. And if it had succeeded, who can estimate the extent of the changes which it would have produced on the state of the American continent, the British settlements, and the commerce of the world? In that case, the author of the scheme, instead of being regarded merely as an ingenious speculator, would have had his name enrolled

* Byres's Letter to a Friend in Edinburgh, p. 93.

† Borland, 79—81.

‡ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 244—6, 250.

among great men and the benefactors of their species. William Paterson possessed the patriotism and love of liberty which distinguished his friend and coadjutor, Andrew Fletcher of Salton, without the strong shade of national partiality which narrowed the views of that celebrated politician. He was defrauded of the honour due to him in the formation of the Bank of England, by persons who were as inferior to him in genius as they were in generosity; but, instead of wasting his time in declaiming against the ingratitude of mankind, he directed his great powers to the opening up of another channel for promoting their good. And when that also failed, he did not seek to abate his mortification, or to vindicate his fame, by throwing the blame of its miscarriage on the directors who had undertaken to manage it; but he went to these very individuals, and submitted to them a new plan of public utility less calculated to alarm men of timid minds; and in order the more effectually to secure its success, he proposed to admit to a large share of its advantages that very nation which had so ungenerously thwarted his favourite and most splendid scheme.* These are proofs of something which is greater than genius, and to which few men of genius, alas! now-a-days at least, have a title to lay claim.

* Carstairs, State Papers, p. 631, 645, 656. Paterson's Last Plan: Caled. Pap. ser. i. art. 77. Dalrymple, Mem. App. to P. iii. B. vi.

The reader will excuse this digression. I have been drawn into it by the interesting nature of the subject, and by regret at the unsatisfactoriness of the accounts of it which are before the public. The modern accounts of the colony at Darien are chiefly borrowed from Sir John Dalrymple,* who, in his Memoirs, professes to have taken his facts from the unpublished papers of the company. But so far from having availed himself of these documents, he has given a very imperfect and inaccurate representation of what is contained in the printed narratives. All that he has done is to throw an air of romance over the story, and to tinge it with his own prejudices. He talks ridiculously of the first fleet sent out by the company, as sufficient "to have gone from the northmost part of Mexico to the southmost of Chili, and to have overturned the whole empire of Spain in the South Seas."† He represents the Spaniards in the new world, as showing kindness to the Scottish colonists after they left Darien; when it is well known that such of them as happened to be shipwrecked on their coasts, were treated with great barbarity, and detained for years in Spanish prisons.‡ He speaks

* This assertion is not intended to apply to Mr. Laing; though prepossessed with the idea that the Darien colony was of the same character as the South Sea and Mississippi schemes, he has not treated it with his usual research and penetration.

† Memoirs of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 133. 8vo.

‡ Carstairs, State Papers, p. 676. Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien, p. 8. Graham, one of the persons wrecked in

of colonel Campbell of Finab having "dissipated the Spanish force with great slaughter," when there were only eight or nine of the Spaniards killed, and three taken prisoners, in the skirmish referred to; and he represents that officer as bravely conducting the defence of the fort, when he was in fact lying sick on board one of the vessels.* His whole account of the conduct of the ministers sent out by the church of Scotland is pure rodomontade;† and had he looked into the papers of the company, he would have found all his statements on this head flatly contradicted. How could the ministers find, "when they arrived, the officers and gentlemen occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands," when they all arrived at the same time? It is true that one of the ministers, in a printed history of the colony, states that they could not get huts erected for them during the whole of their stay, and were obliged to live on board the ships, which prevented them from the proper discharge of their duty; but there is no evidence whatever that they "complained griev-

captain Pinkerton's ship, depones that they were stripped—put in a dungeon—starved—made to work with slaves—put in irons at Havannah—sent in irons to Cadiz—sent in irons in a small boat to Seville—condemned as pirates—and kept in irons till liberated in September, 1700. (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 48. comp. i. 85.) The treatment which the crew of the Little Hope met with, after the capitulation, was similar. (Act. Parl. Scot. xi. App. 114.)

* Dalrymple's Mem. *ut supra*, p. 140. Carstairs, pp. 612—615. Borland, 58.

† Dalrymple, pp. 136—143.

ously" that these were not "immediately built for their accommodation." So far were they from wishing to quit the settlement, and from fomenting discontent, that, as we have already seen, they supported those counsellors and officers who were most anxious to remain. If they complained of the licentiousness of many of the officers and gentlemen, this was no more than the court of directors did upon the best information. "It's a lasting disgrace (say they) to the memories of those officers who went in the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalized at the licentiousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge, whilst the most sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty.—Nor can we, upon serious reflection, wonder if an enterprise of this nature has misgiven in the hands of such as we have too much reason to believe neither feared God nor regarded man."* The directors found reason soon after to express an opinion not much more favourable of the successors of the first colonists.†

The same papers bear an honourable testimony to the character of the ministers. In a letter to captain Thomas Drummond, Paterson says,— "I have wrote to Mr. Alexander Shields. Pray

* Directors to the Overseers and remanent Officers in the Colony, Feb. 10, 1700: Caled. Papers, ser. i. 75.

† Ibid. ser. i. art. 76.

converse with him, and take his advice; for you will find him a man of courage and constancy, and that does not want experience of the world. I hope much from him and you."* "Pray remember me kindly to Mr. Shiels, (says one of the leading directors,) whose joining with captain Thomas Drummond's motion for attacking Portobell makes him so valued and beloved here that it will never be forgot." † Writing to the officers of the colony, the directors say, "You have the advantage of having good ministers to watch over you; and we hope you'll give them no occasion, by any indecent behaviour, to repine at their having gone such a voyage, which we are assured nothing can make them do so much as the contempt of ordinances. We hope better things of you."‡ To the council they write:— "We earnestly press and recommend you, to suppress riot and immoralities; but especially that you encourage virtue and discourage vice by the example of your own lives, and give all the necessary assistance to your ministers, in establishing discipline and good order among your people."§ There are three letters by the directors to "the moderator and remanent members of the church of Caledonia," written in the

* Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 55. Comp. art. 53, 54.

† Letter from Sir Francis Scot of Thirlstane to captain Daniel Mackay, Edin. June 13, 1700: Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 51.

‡ Ibid. ser. i. art. 75.

§ Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74. Comp. art. 72.

most respectful and confidential strain. They tell them, that they were in hopes to hear from them; that they were sorry to learn that divisions had again broken out in Caledonia; that they had no doubt of the patience and constancy of the ministers; and trusted, they would urge and admonish all to unity, and in due time would prove the happy instruments of conveying the gospel to the natives of that country. "As for what concerns you in particular," continue they, "we shall not only perform our engagements, but contribute to make your present stations easy, by enjoining all under your charge to have a due regard to good discipline and order. We are heartily sorry for the death of Mr. Dalgliesh; and that amongst many other disappointments, you should be under such discouragements in the execution of your charge, from the cold indifference of some, and the vicious lives of others of your people. We have written fully to the council about this matter."* Mr. Shields's account of the situation of himself and his two brethren, is written with a feeling which is an internal evidence of its truth. "Our meetings amongst ourselves are in the woods; where the chattering of parrots, mourning of pelicans, and din of monkies, is more pleasant than the hellish

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 76. "In respect that the company (say the directors to the council of Caledonia) has an entire confidence in the zeal, capacity, and integrity of Mr. Alexander Shiels, our council-general do recommend to you, to—admit him to be

language of our countrymen in their huts and tents of Kedar; and our converse with the Indians, though with dumb signs, is more satisfying than with the most part of our own people. Severals of them came to our meetings for worship, and we have exercised in their families, when travelling among them, where they behaved themselves very reverently; but we have neither language nor interpreter. But our people doe scandalize them both by stealing from them, and teaching them to swear and drink." *

Sir John Dalrymple inveighs against the ministers for interfering officiously in the settling of the terms of capitulation; † but he takes care not to state the facts, which are highly honourable to them. One of the articles proposed by Veitch was, "That the Indians who have been friendly to us, and conversed with us, since we came hither, shall not be molested on our account." To this the Spanish commander refused to accede; and some of the Indian chiefs who had been most friendly to the colony, were taken from the side of the Scottish ships and made prisoners. The ministers, pitying the poor natives, drew up a petition in their favour, and sent it to the Spanish fleet by Mr. Shields. When

present in your council, that when you find it necessary you may take his advice in any important affairs that may occur." (Ibid. ser. i. art. 94.)

* Alexander Shields to the Presbytery of St. Andrews, Caledonia Bay, Feb. 2, 1700: Christian Instructor, vol. xviii. p. 478.

† Memoirs, iii. 101.

he was enforcing the petition, Pimienta, who was of an irascible temper, said to him in Latin, "Mind your own business;" to which Shields replied, "I shall mind it," and retired. The conduct of the council, in leaving their Indian allies exposed to the vengeance of the Spaniards, was much condemned by some of the colonists.*

To return to Samuel Veitch—he joined the army in New England, and was advanced to the rank of colonel. He came to Scotland in the year 1706, on a visit to his parents, but soon returned to the New World.† In 1710, he was ordered to join the expedition under General Nicolson, which was sent against the French possessions in Nova Scotia, where they took the town and fort of Port-Royal,‡ to which, in honour of the Queen, they gave the name of Annapolis.§

* Borland, 67. Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 78. Mr. Shields died at Port Royal in Jamaica on the 14th of June, 1700, of a malignant fever. (Borland, 78.) Mr. Stobo, another of the ministers, settled in Carolina; (Ibid. 21—23.) and Mr. Borland returned to Scotland, where he wrote a narrative of the expedition.

† Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 114.

‡ "When the Queen sent over my son, Samuel, and General Nicolson went over, to take in *Jamaica*, she gave him a commission to be governor there, if he took it in.—At length they yielded the place without much bloodshed." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 117.) Mrs. Veitch must have confounded Port Royal in North America with Port Royal in Jamaica, which last place would be impressed on her memory by the circumstance of her eldest son having died off it.

§ "Minehead, Dec. 11. A vessel came in on the 9th, five weeks from Boston, gives an account that Colonel Nicholson had taken Port Royal in Acadia, belonging to the French, with the loss of

Colonel Veitch was made governor of that place.* In the month of June next year he was recalled from Annapolis to Boston, † to take the command of two regiments of New England, which were to join the armament under Major-General Hill, and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, intended for the reduction of Quebec and Placentia. The fleet consisted of ten ships of war, and above sixty transports, having on board 5000 troops from Flanders and Britain.‡ They sailed from Boston

ten men killed, and of a transport vessel wherein the captain and the men were drowned. He says that Colonel Nicholson was returned to Boston, before he left that port, having left Colonel *Vich* and Sir Charles Hobby with 500 English troops in garrison in the Fort, in which were 50 or 60 guns; the French governor with 200 men being made prisoners-of-war. He reports that Colonel Nicholson had sent 2 gentlemen to Quebeck, to inform the governor of that place, that, if according to his use he should encourage the Indians barbarously to scalp the English prisoners, he would use the same severity upon the French inhabitants in Port Royal, who are about 500 in number." The capitulation was signed by Francis Nicholson, Esq. and M. de Subercase, on the 2d of October, 1710. (The Scots Courant, No. 823. Monday, 18th, to Wednesday, 20th December, 1710.)

* A Journal, or full account of the late Expedition to Canada. By Sir Hovenden Walker, Kt. P. 114, 142. Lond. 1720.

† Ibid. p. 68, 94.

‡ Ibid. pp. 106—108. The Scots Courant, Nos. 868—897. "Boston, New England, July 24, 1711. On the 25th past arrived here Admiral Walker's squadron, with the land forces under Brigadier Hill. The New English forces, consisting of two regiments, those of Hampshire and Rhode Island, commanded by Colonel Walton, and the Massachuset's Bay, by the Hon^ble. Colonel Vetch, who commands both regiments, will be ready to embark the 25th instant, and will sail the first fair wind." (The Scots Courant, No. 941. Monday, September 24, 1711.)

in the end of July, and entered the River of St. Lawrence; but encountered a severe storm, in which several of the transports, with the troops on board, were lost. * In consequence of this and the want of provisions to sustain the troops, if they should be locked up in Quebec by the frost during the winter, it was resolved by a council of war to abandon the enterprise and return home. † Colonel Veitch enjoyed the confidence both of the general and admiral, the latter of whom speaks very highly of his skill, zeal, and activity in the expedition. ‡ He returned to his government at Annapolis, and ultimately settled at New York, where he married a grand-daughter of the well-known Mr. John Livingston, by whom he had a daughter called Aleda, who married an American gentleman of the name of Pinknie, near Philadelphia. §

It only remains to say a few words respecting Ebenezer, Mr. Veitch's youngest son. He was trained for the ministry of the church, and ap-

* Seven transports, and a victualler of New England, were wrecked, and 884 men lost. Walker's Journal, p. 128.

† Scots Courant, Nos. 950—954. Walker's Journal, p. 26, 141, 302.

‡ Walker's Journal, p. 26, 93, 94. In p. 116, is a letter from colonel Veitch to the Admiral, stating his suspicions of a French pilot, and offering to proceed to Cape Breton, "in order to set the course of the fleet, when they come up, in case it be foggy."

§ Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 115; and Genealogical Tree of the Family.

pears to have been a young man of uncommon piety. After being licensed to preach, he was the first person who received the appointment to a lectureship in Edinburgh, on what was called M'Alla's mortification, which still subsists. David Mackall, or M'Alla, was a merchant who, in testimony of his gratitude for success in business, bequeathed in the year 1639, besides other legacies for pious uses, a sum of money, the interest of which was to be applied by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, as a salary to one who should preach every Sunday morning in the Tron church.* A number of years elapsed

* "Be it kend—me David Mackall, merchant burges of Edinburgh, for sa meickle as it has pleased God to bless me in my calling—whairupone—I vowed and promised to the Lord my God to dedicate some portioun of the meanes and substance bestowed upon me to pious uses. Thairfore, and in humble performance thereof, I, in the tenor heirof, give, dott, and dispone:—Item, thrie thousand and five hundred merkis money foresaid, to be employed upon land for annual rent to the behoove of ane sufficient and qualified minister or preatcher, to mak prayers and preatching everie Sunday in the morning, in the south eist kirk that is building at Nuddries wynd heid, quhilk pretching and prayeries sall be doone everie Sunday in the morning, conforme to the Trew religioun establishit presentlie profest within this kingdome, without any alteration, additioun, or diminishing therfra in anie sort, bot onlie to be doone as it is now usit, without adding of any unnecessar ceremonie thairto, that was laitlie lyk to be brocht in the kirk, and no utherwayes. And I mak and constitut the provost and bailies of the said burgh, present and to cum, patrones for presenting of the said minister to the said kirk, with consent of my aires and successors in all tyme cuming." (Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, Dec. 28, 1639. vol. xv. f. 109, 110.)

before that church was ready for public worship; and when it was opened the magistrates did not establish the lectureship, although they were in possession of the funds appropriated to its support, so that, at length, it came to be forgotten that any such bequest had been made. But the fact having been discovered in the year 1701, the town council appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and on their report agreed immediately to carry the will of the donor into effect, by applying the legal interest of a thousand pounds sterling to the support of a preacher.* Accordingly, on the 17th of June, 1702, they presented "Mr. Ebenezer Veitch, preacher of the gospel, to the office of performing preaching and prayers in the Tron church, at the time and in manner appointed by Mr. M'Alla's mortification;" and recommended to him further to preach one diet on the Lord's day, as he shall be employed by

* Records of Town Council, Sept. 5, 1701. vol. xxxvi. pp. 890—892. Maitland, who has given a short account of this benefaction, after saying that the council appropriated "the income of one thousand pounds of the said money" to the support of preaching in the Tron Church, adds, "but how the remaining part of the money is applied, is to me unknown." (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 166.) This was owing to his own carelessness. For in the minute just referred to, the interest of the money is calculated from the death of the donor down to the year 1701, and when this is added to the principal, the whole sum does not amount to quite 18,000 merks Scots, or £1000 Sterling; so that there was no surplus to be applied in any way, and the magistrates acted in every respect honourably in the trust.

any of the ministers of the burgh.* Subsequently he engaged, at the desire of the town council and presbytery, "to visit the sick of the parish of the Tron kirk when called thereto, to ease the reverend Mr. George Meldrum of that part of his ministerial function;" he having been lately appointed professor of divinity in the university, on the death of Mr. George Campbell.†

In May, 1703, he left Edinburgh, having received a call to be minister of Ayr;‡ and he soon after married Margaret, daughter of the venerable Mr. Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine,§

* Records, *ut supra*, vol. xxxvii. p. 174.

† Ibid. Oct. 9, 1702. vol. xxxvii. p. 308.

‡ On the 12th of May, 1703, Mr. James Alstoun, preacher of the gospel, was chosen successor to him in the lectureship. (Records of Town Council, vol. xxxvii. p. 891.) The Town Council came to a resolution, on the 17th of November, 1703, that, instead of one, two persons should be appointed to this office, to lecture *per vices;* and that the annual rent should be divided between them. The reason assigned for this new arrangement is, that they had found by experience "the great good, blessing, and usefulness of the said morning lecture not only to the inhabitants of the citie, but to the preachers themselves, who have great opportunity to exercise and make known their gifts and qualifications for the ministrie, so that severals alreadie have been called from that charge and settled in considerable congregations: and that the said lecture became lyke a kind of seminerie to some pairt of the church." (Ibid. p. 686.)

§ On the 8th of January, 1692, the town council of Edinburgh subscribed a call to "Mr. Patrick Vernour, minister of Irvine," to be one of the ministers of this city. (Records of Town Council.) The names *Vernor* and *Warner* are used interchangeably in documents of that period.

a young lady remarkable for personal beauty. Having gone to Edinburgh in December, 1706, to attend the commission of the general assembly, he obtained leave of absence for a few days to dispense the communion to his people. On his return to the capital he was seized with a dangerous sickness. For some time before this, his friends had observed that his thoughts turned much on death, and that when engaged in prayer, both in public and in his family, he appeared more like a person in heaven than on earth. His wife hurried from Ayr as soon as she received notice of his illness. Hearing him talk of his willingness and desire to die, she asked if he would not wish to live with her, and serve the church on earth, a little longer; to which he replied in the negative, recommended her to God, who had been all in all to him, and gave her a parting embrace. Then turning to the ministers who were present, he said, "Passengers for glory, how far think you am I from the new Jerusalem?" "Not far, Sir," replied one of them. "Then I'll climb till I be up among that innumerable company of angels and the spirits of just men made perfect." They removed his wife; but just as he was a-dying, she burst into the room and came to his bed-side, when, waving his hand, he said, "I will not look back again," and expired.*

* Mrs. Veitch's Memoir, pp. 111—114. Mrs. Ebenezer Veitch was afterwards married to Mr. Robert Wodrow, the historian.

This Supplement to Mr. Veitch's Memoirs shall be closed with the following account of his children, copied from a writing, in his own hand, on the margin of his family Bible.*

"I was maryed at Lanark by Mr. Ro^{t} Birnie—† twenty-third day of Nov^{r} 1664.

"Mary, my first child, was born on Monday the 23 of Sept^{r} 1665, at the Hills of Dunsyre, and baptised at Lintoun, by M^{r} Ro^{t} Eliot.‡ She dyed March 9, 1666, and was buried at Dunsyre kirk.

"William, my 2^{d} child, was born on Tuesday the 2^{d} day of April, 1667, at the Hills of Dunsyre, bot not baptised untill the 16 day of August following, and that at Smalholm, by M^{r} Thomas Donaldsone.§ Witnesses were John Murray of

"This marriage was assented to by her father-in-law, Mr. William Veitch, whom she came to consult about its propriety all the way from Air to Dumfries, before it was solemnized." (Geneal. Tree of the Family.)

* This Bible is now in Dumfries, in the possession of Mrs. Nicholas Denholm, relict of the Reverend William Wightman, late minister of Dalton.

† Mr. Robert Birnie, minister at Lanark, was a nonconformist to prelacy. (Wodrow, i. App. 75.)

‡ Messrs. Robert Elliot, father and son, were, in 1672, indulged to Lintoun. Wodrow's list of nonconformists contains Mr. Robert Elliot at Linton, presbytery of Peebles, who survived the Revolution. (Ibid. i. App. 138, 72.)

§ Mr. Thomas Donaldsone was confined to his own parish of Smailholm. (Ibid. i. App. 73.)

Ashiesteel, * John Brown, merchant in Kelso, and M^r^ John Vetch, minister of Westruther.

" Samuel, my third child, born on Wednesday, at Edenburgh, being the ninth day of December, 1668, and baptised the threttenth by M^r^ John Blackadar, a Minister in Galaway; the laird of Westshiel,† Andrew Stevenson, and M^r^ William Livingstoun,‡ merchants in Ed^r^ were witnesses.

" James, my fourth child, was born at Edenburgh, on Thursday, March 9 day, 1671; baptised the 18 day, by M^r^ Thomas Hog. § He dyed

* " The laird and lady Ashiesteil" were cited to appear before the privy council, along with several other gentlemen and ladies, for being present at a conventicle, in the parish of Galashiels, which was surprised by Claverhouse in 1679. (Wodrow, ii. 40.) "John Murray of Eshiesteill" was commissioner of excise for Selkirk, in 1661.—" Eshiesteill lyand in Etterick forest and shirreff-dome of Selkirk." (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 91; viii. 356.)

† " Sir William Denholm of Westshields was a religious gentleman, of excellent abilities, of a plentiful fortune, and got to heaven some years ago, after all his troubles." He was forfeited by the criminal court, along with Mr. Gilbert Elliot, July 16, 1685; (Wodrow, ii. 493; Fountainhall's Decis. i. 366;) was restored after the Revolution; and sat frequently in Parliament as member for Lanarkshire. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. x. and xi. *passim.)*

‡ Mr. William Livingston, son of Mr. John Livingston, minister at Ancrum, was imprisoned, Feb. 22, 1682, for " collecting and distributing money to rebels," (prisoners) and " for importing and vending several seditious books." He was liberated on caution. (Wodrow, ii. 256.) Dec. 13, 1700. The town council settled a pension of " 200 merks yearly on ——— Veitch, relict of Mr. William Livingstoun, late clerk to the sessions of the good town." (Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. xxxvi. p. 704, 705.)

§ Among the nonconformists were two ministers of the name of Thomas Hog; the one at Larbert and Dunipace, in the presby-

at Arnistoun with the nurse April tenth, and was buried at the Temple the twelfth day, 1672.*

" John, my fifth child, was born on Friday, at Fallowlees, in the parish of Roadberrie in Northumberland, July 19, 1672, (having removed thither the Lambes preceding,) baptised by M^r^ Wychliffe † the thirty of that Moneth, befor thes witnesses George Harle and William Zealile. He died at Stanton hall about Mertimasse 1684, and was buried at Nether Witton, 4 miles from Morpeth.

" Elizabeth, my sixth child, was born at Harnam, in the parish of Bolam in Northumberland,

tery of Stirling, and the other at Kiltearn in Ross-shire. (Wodrow, i. App. 72, 73.) There is a printed Memoir of the last-mentioned person.

* It should be 1671. See before p. 59. " Having born four children ere I came out of Scotland, two of them died in the land, the other two I brought with me." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 3.)

† Ralph Wiclif, ejected from Whatton in Northumberland, was, at the Restoration, a member of Mr. Ralph Ward's congregation at Hartbourne, and was " afterwards ordained a minister by the presbytery at Morpeth." When Mr. Ward was removed, a part of his congregation adhered to Mr. Wicklif, who continued among them; but he complains that there was " such a fickleness and itching humour in some old professors, that if a stranger, (a young raw Scotchman,) should come and say he was a minister, away some of them would run, by his door, perhaps three, four, or five miles, notwithstanding the hazard he had run by his entertaining them in dangerous times." (Palmer, ii. 270.) " Nether Witton chapel," where Veitch's child was buried, was attached to " Hartbourn vicarage." (Hutchinson's Northumberland: State of Churches, p. 44.)

the 20 day of May, 1674, and was baptised on the 31, being the Sabbath, in the meeting house

M^r^ George Horsley, witness, of Millburn Grange,* (his mother being name mother,) and William Zealile. She was maryed to David M^c^Culloch of Ardwell, the 7 day of June, 1710 years at Dumfries.

" Ebenezer, my seventh, born at Harnam the 16 day of March, 1676, being thursday, hora 4 post merid. and baptised in the Meeting hous ther by M^r^ John Owen,† the 26 day. He was educate at Ed^r^ and Saint Andrewes philosophy colledges, and at Ed^r^ Divinity colledge under the learned Mr. George Campbell, professor thereoff. He passed his tryalls befoir that presbitery with great approbation, and was settled as lecturer on Sabbath Morning, in the trone church, betwixt 8 and 9 in the Morning, upon M^r^ M^c^Ala's mortification, new found out, tho' done 60 years befoir, and continued there from till Whitsunday 1703. he was called to the Ministry in the towne of Air, and ordained May 13 that year. He died at Ed^r^ the 13 day of dec^r^ 1706, a member of the comission, and his uncle M^r^ John Vetch,

* See before, p. 133.

† Mr. John Owen, ejected from Stannerton, Northumberland, preached frequently in his own house, and in those of the neighbouring gentlemen, for which he was fined and imprisoned. He was induced to accept of a settlement at Hounam in Scotland, procured for him by the Duke of Lauderdale. (Palmer, ii. 270.)

minister of Westruther, died at Dalkeith, going home from the Commission, dec^{r} 1703.

"Sarah, my eight child and third daughter, was born at Stantoun hall in the parish of Longhorslie in Northumberland, on Wednesday, betwixt 3 and 4 in the Morning, the 7th day of Nov^{r} 1677, having removed from Harnam thither the first day of May preceding, and was baptised the 5 day of dec^{r} in my own hous, by M^{r} Edrd Ord, sometyme minister at Noram * in Northumberland, old M^{r} Fennick of Stantoun, † with his lady, (who was name-mother) and his youngest son, M^{r} Thomas, being witnesses.

"Agnes, my ninth child and fourth daughter, was born at Stantonhall the 20 day of January, 1680, being tuesday, about 10 o'clock; she was baptised the 29 of April (my shaking ague hindering till then) by my brother, M^{r} John Vetch, minister of Westruther in Scotland; the Laird and Lady witnesses. ‡ She was maryed to M^{r} John Somervel, minister of Carlaverock, the 16 day of April, 1701.—She bore unto him 6 children, one son and 5 daughters, and died of the 7th child, not brought to bed, (the two youngest daughters died before herself) the 14 of Agust, 1712; and when midwives, chirur-

* "Norham vic. Mr. Edward Ord." (Palmer, ii. 266.)

† See Surtees's Durham, App. clii.

‡ Mr. and Mrs. Fenwick of Stanton, most probably.

geons, and doctors could doe no good, after several dayes unsuccessfull pains, she said 'Now I see God calls me to die and leave this world and all my relations, which I am most willing to doe.' Then taking her leave, with the greatest composure and deliberation, of her parents, children, and servants, and of her husband, who had been fetching more help, leaving her blessing to every one that was there, and to those that were absent far and near, like one that had left all to God [goe?] to her heavenly husband, with her eyes lifted up to heaven, she cryed, 'O, my beloved, be thou as a roe and as a young hart upon the mountains of division,'&c. Then she begged that we wold, (if we had any moyen with God) pray that he wold mitigate her torment out through her voyage, and land her in her wished port; and her pain was abated or prayer was done, so she went off with great quietness, closeing her eyes with her own hand, a little after.

" Janet, my tenth child and fifth daughter, was born upon Sunday the 30 of January, 1682, and baptised there also, at Stantonhall in England, by her uncle Master John Vetch, Minister of Westruther,* in the Mers, who came there to doe it on

* " Mr. Veech, minister of Westruthers, wrotte for me ane descriptione of Berwick shyre in the Merse, two sheet and a halfe." (Sibbald's Repertory of Manuscripts, MS. p. 26. Adv. Library.) This is inserted in Sibbald's MS. Collections, from p. 198 to p. 215. " That parish (says the author, in his account of West-

purpose; her father was at London. She died on Sabbath the 26 day of March, 1693, near eight o'clock at night, at Peebles, in Tweedale, Scotland, and was buried there the day following."*

ruther,) of old had great woods with wild beasts, fra quhilk the dwellings and hills were designed; as Woolstruther, Roecleugh, Hindside, Hartlaw, and Harelaw." (W. 5, 17. p. 208. Adv. Library.) It was stated before, (see p. 10, note,) that his brother, Mr. James Veitch, was appointed to answer the arguments against hearing the indulged ministers. In the Advocates Library is a MS. entitled "Ane Sober Inquirie into the lawfulnes of the presbyterian ministers their acceptance of a libertie to preach the gospel upon the indulgence, and the people's dutie to hear them. By Mr. James Veitch, minister at Mauchlin." 41 pages in fours. (Rob. III. 5, 9. art. 16.)

* "1693. March 27. Jennet Veitch." (Register of Burials in the Parish of Peebles.)

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM VEITCH.

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE BRYSSON,

MERCHANT IN EDINBURGH.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE BRYSSON.

BEING now of a good old age,* and near to eternity, I thought it my duty to leave some remarks of God's providence towards me, in the course of my pilgrimage, which I think may be useful to my children, and other Christian friends who may have occasion to read the same, to let them know how kind the Lord hath been to me in my pilgrimage-state here, travelling through this wilderness-condition, that so they may be encouraged to keep the Lord's way, who hath so wonderfully protected me in every step of my life :— And Oh! that I could speak aright to the commendation of the riches of his great goodness and mercy towards me, who am less than the least of all his mercies.

* He appears to have been born about the year 1649. See a subsequent note near the conclusion of the Memoir.

And first, I acknowledge I was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and did, for a considerable time, live in a state of nature, without any thing of the knowledge of God. But it pleased him, who calleth whom he will, and by what means seemeth good in his sight, to make me at length to see my lost state. And this the Lord did by letting Satan loose upon me, who assaulted me with dreadful temptations and blasphemous suggestions, whereby I was almost driven to utter despair; in which lamentable condition I was kept for several years, meeting with nothing but fearful assaults from the enemy. At that time I was a stranger to pure gospel-ordinances, administered by faithful ambassadors, till at length God cast my lot to be apprentice in the city of Edinburgh, in a family where there were two godly servants. And I began to observe that their practice was not like the rest of the family, they retiring alone on the Sabbath, when they came from any place where they had been hearing sermon, which was very private at that time, there being then a great persecution against the serious seekers of God. I began to think with myself, that the way these two took was different from the rest of the family, and that I had never known any thing of the ways of God as yet: whereupon I did impart my mind to one of them, and desired that he would take me to hear some of his ministers that

preached in private; concluding with myself, that these only were the ministers of the living God, and those that I had been hearing formerly were but hirelings. The which desire I at length obtained, and after that, resolved never to return to those hirelings; and so I continued to hear honest ministers ever after that, as I could have opportunity; but without that desired effect that I looked for, depending more upon the instruments than upon the God of ordinances, so that my trouble rather increased than decreased. None can tell how I was tortured and perplexed by Satan's temptations. So I became very desirous to have imparted my mind to some honest minister concerning my case; but being bashful and also simple, I could hardly adventure to do it, 'till once upon a day, a very worthy, famous, godly minister, (Mr. James Kirton) was in my master's shop reading the news, and I resolved to follow him, and impart my mind to him as I could; and following him through the street, I was several times resolving to touch his shoulder, but had not the confidence, and so I parted from him as he entered his own house. And I went away with a grieved heart, and went to the north side of the Castlehill, near the loch, where I bemoaned my case before God as I could. And I can never enough wonder at the admirable providence of God, that kept me back from imparting my mind to him; for upon the Sabbath following, I was led

to hear him preach, who was, indeed, sent from God to me, and was made to speak out my case in every particular, as though I had written down my mind to him in every circumstance; and he made such free offers of Christ, as made me to see him a complete Saviour, able to save to the very uttermost all that come to God through him. And I must say, (to the eternal praise of my God be it spoken!) that my very heart and soul were made to close with him in the offers of the gospel; for by the power that came along with the word the Lord opened my prison-doors, and in a great measure he proclaimed liberty to a captive, and made his power to be known towards me; so that I was made to wonder at his surprising love and goodness towards such a wretched sinner as me.

After that, I kept close by the ordinances, and found the word sweet and refreshing to my soul; for the word of God was precious in those days, and there went a converting power alongst with it. After that, I was not without many assaults from the enemy of man's salvation; but I bless the Lord, who stood by me and supported me. These days were the sweetest that ever I had upon the earth, and I hope they were days of espousals.

After this, when Satan saw that he was disappointed of getting me brought to utter despair of the mercy and goodness of God, he stirred up

outward troubles against me, to have me deprived of the precious ordinances, which were the very food of my soul; and set my master against me, who would not suffer me to go to hear the Lord's servants, who preached then privately and on peril of their lives. My master was of a good natural temper, but fear of bringing himself to trouble, because of the dangerousness of the times, made him send for my father and uncle, to deal with me to forbear going to those conventicles, lest I brought trouble both upon myself and him.* And so my father came to town, and sent for me to my uncle's, and gave me a very sore onset, telling me, that "the love and affection he carried to me as his only son, made him much concerned in me." He told me, "he expected better things of me, than that I should both bring trouble upon myself and master, by leaving the church, and following after men that were not allowed by law to preach;" and there-

* His master's fears were not groundless. To hear, as well as to preach, was made a crime by the act of Parliament *Against Separation* in 1663, (Wodrow, i. Append. p. 79,) and imprisoning or fining the servant behoved to interfere with the master's accommodation. But matters did not rest here. Even before the rising at Pentland, a proclamation was issued for obedience to ecclesiastical authority, (Oct. 11, 1666,) whereby heritors and masters were made responsible for their tenants and servants; and if the former did not oblige the latter to conform, they were "liable to the same pains and penalties due to the contraveners." True, this was a vigour beyond the law, but that was no way unusual at that period. (Ibid. i. 240, App. p. 88.)

fore assured me, "if I followed that course, he would disown me from being his son,"—which words affected me very much to hear, coming from a loving father. However, though I was but young, (about 20 years of age,) the Lord helped me to make a very good reply. I said, "Father, I am sorry to hear such words coming from you! Indeed, if you had found me guilty of any vice, (such as cursing, swearing, sabbath-breaking, stealing, or uncleanness,) you would have had good ground to disown me as your son. But seeing the Lord has kept me from these things, and that all that ye have to disown me for, is hearing the gospel preached by his sent servants, when I can have opportunity; and, seeing this is the only quarrel, I cannot help it: for I am firmly resolved to hear the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ preached by his faithful ambassadors, cost what it will, through the grace of God, although ye should disown me:"—which words did so affect the heart of the old man, that he gushed out in tears, and said, "God forbid! my dear bairn, that ever I should hinder you from going where you may get most good for your soul." And so Satan was frustrated of his design; for I continued hearing the gospel till the end of my apprenticeship, which was two years and a half after this,* carrying as obligingly to my master as I could.

* The year 1672, or thereabout, being the 23d year of his age.

Then, about the end of my apprenticeship, it pleased God to remove my father by death; and I was called to stay with my mother, to oversee her servants and other affairs, by which I was much deprived of hearing the gospel, which was my great grief and trouble.

A little after I came home, there was a proclamation issued out, that all heritors, their tenants, and subtenants, should subscribe a bond,* that they should never go to any of the rendezvous of rebellion, (as they termed the meetings of God's people,) nor entertain any of these vagrant preachers, (as they termed the servants of the Lord,) whereupon our landlord, who was one of the Lords of Session, sent through his officer, and warned all the tenants of the barony to compear at a court holden at his own house. My mother being warned amongst the rest, I was afraid lest she, through the weakness, should have complied with the wicked decree. I desired that she would let me go, and I would answer for her; and so I went.

Having read the proclamation, I resolved not only to refuse the subscribing of the bond myself, but to dissuade others from it also, as far as I could. And being come to the place appointed, there were none there that were concerned in any such

* This seems to be the Proclamation of 18th June 1674. The bond was to be subscribed in the shire of Edinburgh, "betwixt and the last Thursday of July." (Wodrow, i. App. p. 156.)

matters, except only other two. Being there a considerable time before the bailie and the clerk came, we three took all the pains we could upon the rest of the tenants, to dissuade them from taking that bond ; and told them the hazard of taking thereof; that it was a binding themselves from hearing the gospel preached by any of the Lord's sent servants, and that they durst not give them a night's quarters, nor a meal of meat, though they were starving at their door. This seemed to affect the men, and they said, " God forbid that ever they should do such a thing !" But alas ! they were soon dung * from that ; for so soon as the court was fenced, my Lord said, " Sirs, I will tell you for what I have called you together ; the King has put forth a proclamation, that none within the kingdom should go to these rendezvous of rebellion, nor reset any of their ministers." And told them, that he himself had subscribed it at Edinburgh, and that they behoved to do the same ; and solemnly protested that there was no evil in it, otherwise he would not have desired any of them to take it. " And for your encouragement I shall subscribe it again before you all ;" † which he did, and after, said,

* driven.

† Officers of state, at this period, were not scrupulous in subscribing and swearing oaths; and with men destitute of principle, such bonds serve any purpose but that of supporting a government, or throwing out worthless individuals. Sir George Mackenzie,

" I hope there is none here who will refuse it:" whereupon one of those honest men (formerly mentioned) thinking that my Lord would take our silence as a grant of taking it, cries out, " My Lord, I am a man that will not take it." Whereupon my Lord grew in a great passion, and asked, how they called him, and where he dwelt. He answered, " My name is Alexander Wedderburn, I am a tenant under John Brown." Whereupon my Lord says, " John Brown, does

speaking of the declaration 1662, observes, " The great design of that act was to incapacitate the Earl of Crawford from being treasurer, and Lauderdale from being secretary; but Lauderdale laughed at these contrivances, and told them he would sign a cartful of such oaths before he would lose his place: and though Crawford was thereafter turned out of his office, yet Middleton missed it; and thus we see how God disappoints such as endeavour to ensnare their native country with unnecessary oaths and engagements." (Hist. of Scotland, p. 64.) *Query:* Had Sir George no hand in pressing such engagements?—In a paper assigning reasons against subscribing the bond of 1679, it is said, " The imposers neither regard their own bonds, but bind and break in one day at pleasure, nor doe they, or can they expectt, that these bonds should have weight with others. It is evident that their designe is to debauch the consciences of, and enslave the subjects; for what reason is there first to urge the bond upon the prisoners, and then sell them into foraigne plantations for slaves, where there is no fear of their rising? A generous and honest magistrate would rather have condemned to the gallowes the subscribers as knaves, and regarded the refusers as men of creditt and honesty." (MSS. Adv. Lib. Rob. III. 5, 9. Art. 9.) " Argyle shall have a perjured dog of you," Claverhouse was accustomed to say, after he had forced the people to take the oaths. (Wod. i. 512.) " If any refused to swear, or drink healths at y^r^ pleasure, then away to prison with him. The debauched clargie thought it no shame to call thes dragouns the ruling elders of the church." (Wodrow MSS. XL. Art. 17. Advocates Library.)

this man live under you?" He says, "Yes!" "Then I charge you, upon your peril, to cast him out as soon as you go home; for I protest, if he be there to-morrow, I shall come myself, and shall cause burn his house and all that he hath!"

After this, my Lord called first upon the men that he knew would not refuse it, to comply with his design; for his words to this honest man struck a terror upon them all. And after two or three had subscribed, I was very much concerned, and very gladly would have had my Lord call upon me, that through my refusing, I might put a stop to some of the rest taking the pen to subscribe. And accordingly I drew near where my Lord was sitting; so he called me, and said, "George, I know you can write." I said, "Yes, my Lord, I can write." "Then take the pen, and subscribe this bond." But I refusing, said, "My Lord, I cannot do it." He said, "For what?" I said, "I durst not bind up myself from hearing the gospel preached by the Lord's sent servants; neither durst I refuse to give them entertainment, if it lay in my power." My Lord seemed to be somewhat concerned about me, and said, "He was sorry for it, for he had always a great respect for my father's family, and could have wished us well; but seeing I would play the fool, he could not help it." And said, "Seeing you represent your father, I will not put you off the ground immediately,

which I might do; but resolve with yourself to remove, with all that you have, against the term: and see what will become of you, for neither laird nor lord in Scotland dare set you either house or land." I said, "My Lord, I cannot help that; 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof!'" whereupon my Lord was in a great rage, and went to the other man I mentioned formerly, (who was sitting upon a little stool on the floor,) and took him with his foot, saying, "Sir, I know you will not take it also!" He said, "No, my Lord." Then we three were packed to the door, and so we escaped that snare: all the rest complied. But most remarkable it was, that though my Lord threatened to turn us three out of his land, we all continued longer in it than himself,—he being, by an express, called over the water to his brother, and had stayed there but a few days, went to his bed at night as well as ever he was, but upon the morrow, when his man came to his chamber, he found him dead upon his bed, so that he never saw the honest man's house burned, nor any of us turned out of his land. *

* That this was Sir Robert Preston, Lord Preston, will appear from the following notices. In the Roll of Fugitives in Wodrow's Appendix, vol. ii. p. 119, we find "George Bryson, in *Goursnout*," Edinburghshire; and that our Brysson is the person intended, is evident from his being discovered at London by this circumstance, in spring 1685, as he informs us afterwards in his Memoirs. A family of Prestons long possessed Preston, now Gourtown, on the

After this, I had an onset by the curate of the parish where I lived, who came with fair insinuations, saying, " He had a great kindness for my father, and that he had been still one of his elders, and now, seeing he was dead, he hoped I would come and supply his room." I told him, " I had nothing to do with him; and he might never expect any such thing." Then he told me, " He had a precept from my Lord, before his

banks of the North Esk, in the county of Edinburgh, comprehending " *Gowrsnout* and Gourlaw," together with the barony of Craigmillar. (Doug. Peer. i. 415, 416. Inquis. Retor. Edin. 852, 853.) The *templar* lands of Goursnout belonged to the Earl of Haddington; (Inquis. Retor. Edin. 936, 1176;) and Craigmillar came into the possession of Lord President Gilmour. (Inquis. Retor. Gen. 5463.) October 9, 1663, the parliament ratified a charter of the 20th of August same year, " in favour of Robert Prestoun of Prestoun, and Johne Prestoun, his son, of the lands and barrony of Prestoun," alias Gortoun, comprehending Gortoun, Gourstoun, (*query* Goursnout?) Auchindinings, &c. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 523.) Sir Robert Preston was the younger brother of Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, near Culross, (who died in the reign of Charles II.) a branch of the family of Preston and Craigmillar. (Doug. Bar. 91, 92.) " He had been sumtyme collector of the assessments of Pearth;" (Wodrow, i. App. 147; Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 190;) commissioner of teinds and of supply, and justice of peace for Edinburghshire. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 48, 90, 504.) In Middleton's Act of Fines, he is set down for L.1200 Scots, (Ibid. 424,) but under Lauderdale's administration, he was one of four judges, whose appointment occasioned dissatisfaction. (See Short Account of Affairs from Scotland, Nov. 1673, apud Wod. i. App. 147. Sir George Mackenzie's Hist. of Scotland, 240.) He was appointed a Lord of Session, Mar. 4, 1672, by the title of Lord Preston; and on November 27, 1674, Sir James Foulis succeeded Lord Preston deceased. (Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 13.)

death, upon me for 200 merks, and that my Lord had several times drawn precepts upon my father, and he ever answered them, and he hoped I would be nothing short of my father." I refused to answer any precept. After he had come to me several times, I told him positively I would answer no precept to him; whereupon he grew in a very great rage, and said, "You have never kept the kirk since your father's death, but have gone away and left me, and taken all the rest of the town with you: I will now forbear you no longer." And after he parted with me, he went to an honest man that had an house of me, and said, "Andrew, your master is a strange man; he comes never to my kirk, and it seems ye are following his example, for ye have left me also. Ye should not follow after a daft young lad, for ye have been my constant hearer of a long time, and I hope ye will not leave me now." He said, "I bless God that ever he took me alongst in his company, for I never profited by the gospel till then." He said, "Andrew, seeing you think ye profit more by hearing these ministers than by me, I shall allow you to go sometimes to hear them; but ye must give me your hand that ye will come sometimes to me." Andrew said, "I remember a Scripture that says, 'How long will ye halt between two opinions? He that is for God, let him be for God, and he that is for Baal,

let him be for Baal;' for I resolve no more to be your hearer." So they parted.*

By this time field meetings became frequent on Gala water;† to which place I, with several others, went frequently every Sabbath, though sometimes eight, ten, or twelve miles distant, all the summer, on foot, without wearying; and never thought journey more sweet and refreshing, having sweet conference one with another, and often frequent prayer by the way, and amongst other things, that the Lord would bring the gospel nearer our borders, which accordingly was grant-

* The grounds on which the Presbyterians declined to attend the public ministrations of the episcopal clergy of that time, may be seen in Apology for the persecuted ministers and professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, sect. iv.; printed in 1677; in Apologetical Relation, sect. xv.; and in Shields's Hind let Loose, p. 220, &c. Bishop Burnet's character of the clergy is well known. The following, relating to those in the western shires, may be given as the testimony of a layman, who held a public situation in the government:—"Sir Robert Murray went through the west of Scotland: when he came back, he told me, the clergy were such a set of men, so ignorant and so scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, unless the greatest part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places; but it was not easy to know how this could be done. Burnet," (archbishop of Glasgow,) "had placed them all; and he thought himself in some sort bound to support them. The clergy were so linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought against their brethren." (Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, i. 247.)

† Some interesting particulars respecting the rise of field meetings, are contained in a letter from Mr. Blackader to Mr. Macward, dated Feb. 21, 1679, preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in Advocates Library.

ed. The gospel then had good success, and there was a wonderful love amongst the people of God, though his people then got their bread with the peril of their lives, enemies being raging, and often disturbing their meetings.*

On a time Mr. John Welsh was preaching in our country, on a week day. There were several of us convoyed him into Teviotdale, where we were to hear sermon, on Sabbath after, at a hill called Rouberslaw, where we were beset by the enemy, in time of sermon, there coming a company of horse and a company of foot, commanded by the Earls of Dalhousie and Airly, who surrounded the mount, and sent us word to dismiss, or they would fall upon us. We told them we were met for the worship of God in the fields, being deprived of the kirks, and we would dismiss when sermon was over, but not till then.

* In the Advocates Library, is a memoir of a Mrs. Goodal, the wife of a mechanic who had been in Ireland, but brought his family back to Scotland in 1677; because, on a visit to his friends, "he saw so much of the power and presence of the Lord with his persecuted ordinances and people." The following extract from it supplies the date of the communion at East Nisbet, described in Crichton's Memoirs of Mr. Blackader, (p. 198, &c.) "I must make mention of three communion dayes the Lord trysted me with in Scotland. The first was at East-Nisbet in the year 1678, in the spring of the year; another at Carrick, Aug. 4, 1678; and the third in the south at Cherrietrees. They were in the fields in the time of sad persecution. I set them down to keep in mind what confirming days they were unto me." (Goodal's Mem. p. 3. MS. Jac. V. 7, 22.)

So they went about the hill and viewed us, and seeing us very numerous, and also well armed, they left us. There were several meetings of the Lord's people up and down the country, attacked after this manner, and several times prisoners taken and carried to Edinburgh. *

But the greatest onset that any of these meetings got was by Claverhouse at Loudonhill; where the enemy came upon them in a most inhuman manner. Having taken one of the ministers that should have preached there that day, they dragged him alongst with them to the place where the meeting was convened. So that our friends there were necessitated to stand to their own defence. And, after they were set upon by the enemy, made a brave resistance, and put the enemy to the flight; and killed abundance of their men, Claverhouse himself hardly escaping.

* An account of these meetings will be found in Wodrow, i. 433, 520; ii. 40. The minutes of privy council inform us how the booty so honourably acquired on these occasions was disposed of. "The lords of his Majestie's privy councilordain Captain Buckham" to advertise on Sabbath next, at the parish of Calder, "certain horses and plaids *found*" by him and his party, on dissipating the late conventicle, "with certification if the persons to whom they doe belong will not owne and come receive them back againe that day eight days they will be disposed upon; and in case they be not owned, the saids lords ordains the said Captain Buckham to sell and dispose thereupon at the best availl for the use of the party." (Privy Council Record: September 3, 1674.) Few owners, it is to be presumed, would make their appearance to claim these *lost* goods.

After this, the forces were sent west, to pursue after them, so that they were necessitated to send to several parts of the country for assistance. So that I, with several others, went from Edinburgh towards the south, where some more of our friends were got together, in order to join them, according to our solemn engagements, wherein we were bound to assist one another in defence of our religion. There was a small party of us together at Meuros (Melrose,) who were sent out from the rest upon some expedition, who were attacked by two troops of horse, who fell upon us at a place called Bewly Bog, where we were defeated, and several of our men killed and some taken prisoners. The Lord was pleased to bring me off safe, though I hardly escaped.*

* An account of the sufferers of Teviotdale notices those who were "slain and wounded—at Bewly-hill, by a rencounter of a party commanded by captain Buckhame.—Seven men deed, some in the fields, and some in their wounds—and others hurt and maimed to this day." (MS. Adv. Lib. Rob. III. 6, 15.) Bewly is in the parish of Lilliesleaf, and different spots in or near it are referred to in the accounts of field meetings, and the attacks made on them by the military. Walter Turnbull of Bewly was in the rising at Bothwell. (Wodrow, ii. 65, 162. Wilson's Account of Bothw.) A petition to the privy council, by Mr. John Cook, minister at Eccles, states that "in the time of the late rebellion, in 1679, Turnbull of Bewly came with a party of horse to the petitioner's house, and there robbed and carried away from him two good horses and four saddles, which were worth two hundred pounds Scots—and seeing the petitioner, against whom the phanaticks have a great malice in regard of his principles and freedom of public and private discourse against them, was singled

After this we went straight to Hamilton, where there was a good body of our friends, from several parts of the country, gathered together. So the whole body of the king's forces, with all the militia, both horse and foot, with some English dragoons, came west, and engaged us at Bothwel Bridge, upon a Sabbath morning; where we were put to the worse, partly for want of conduct and partly through divisions. So that there were a great many killed, and many taken prisoners: the Lord, in his holy providence, being pleased to order it so for our humiliation and further trial. For, I dare say, there were a good many as godly men there, at that occasion, as were within the nation. But the time to deliver his church was not yet come.

After our defeat, I wist not what to do. However, after some time lurking, I ventured home, where my sister and family were together, who had suffered many wrongs from the enemy: my mother being dead a year before this fell out. And, that which is very remarkable, I dwelt be-

out from among all the ministers in the Merss where he lives, by the rebells, who did rob none but him," he humbly supplicates to be reimbursed from the sequestrated moveables of the rebels. The council recommend to the Lord High Treasurer to order payment to the petitioner, "it being first made appear to his lordship that the saids goods were robbed from the supplicant, and to give order to the laird of Meldrum to inquire thereanent." (Rec. of Privy Council, Feb. 2, 1683.)

twixt two lairds who were both out in arms against us; and one of them never conformed to the presbyterian government to his dying day, though he lived thirty-five years after this. And the other was of the same judgment, though he complied with the government afterwards. However, the Lord moved them to favour me in the day of my distress.* For they sent for my sister before I came home, and advised her to put all the goods from off the ground, and every thing but what was of present use for the family. One of the gentlemen was so kind, that he desired my sister to send over her milk kine and let them feed with his, and to send over her servants morning and evening to milk them for the use of the family. And ordered her to pack up all things that she thought the enemy might make a prey of, and send them over to his house; which, accordingly, she did, where they were secure. The other gentleman was no less kind, for he desired her to send the milk ewes over to his ground, that she might not lose their milk; and to send her servants to milk them. After that, she sent away

* The one of these kind lairds is evidently Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, son of the celebrated poet, "who (according to Douglas) inherited his father's principles and virtues," and died in 1713. His eldest daughter married a son of Lord Preston, Bryson's landlord. (Douglas, Baronage, 573.) I am sorry that I have failed in ascertaining the other gentleman, and in being able to do justice to an act of humanity done at a period marked by so many instances of an opposite description.

the horses, oxen, and other yeld beasts, to a friend who lived on the Earl of Winton's ground, who received them very willingly. Thus the Lord trysted me with favour both from my friends and foes, for which I desire to adore his wonderful providence.

I durst not appear myself, but kept close, and lay sometimes in the wood, sometimes amongst the corn, and sometimes ventured to my bed. At length there came out an act of indemnity, that such as would comply, and keep the church, and subscribe a bond, should be liberated. I, having no freedom to do this, was still in my old condition.*

There was one Mr. Thomas Skene, an advocate, sheriff-depute of Mid Lothian, who got a gift of the escheat of all that had been in arms in

* This indemnity, which is dated July 27, but which was not published until August 14, 1679, is given by Wodrow at length. (Vol. ii. App. p. 28.) A perusal of it may satisfy any one that there is truth in the allegation of Lord Halton's counsel, that it was chiefly intended to screen Lauderdale and his friends. (See before, p. 92.) For in reality, the only persons effectually secured by the indemnity were "all such as have malversed in any public station or trust, and—liable to any pursuit—relating to any public administration." Not to mention the bond to be taken before persons could be entitled to the benefit of the indemnity, all heritors and ministers who were concerned in the late rebellion, and all who had refused to comply with the proclamation to attend the king's host, were expressly excepted; and other exceptions could, without much difficulty, be explained so as to comprehend every one who had been engaged in the insurrection of Bothwell-bridge.

that shire. * My uncle, who was very intimate with him, went to him, (having a great love to me,) and desired that he would favour me, for there was none else that would trouble me if he did not. He promised to him, (upon his faith and conscience,) that he should not trouble me. Upon which, my uncle promised to give him the best paced horse that I had. And so he became secure and sent for me. † I came to him very

* Mr. Thomas Skene, advocate, was the brother of John Skene of Halyards, and son of Sir Andrew Skene of Halyards, who married a daughter of William Forbes of Corse, brother to the bishop of Aberdeen. (Fountainhall's Decis. ii. 277. Inquis. Retor. Fife, 812. Doug. Bar. p. 76, 316. Peerage, i. 148.) It belonged to the sheriffs to appoint their own deputies, but as they came to be suspected of sympathising sometimes with their tenants or neighbours, the council took the nomination of these into their own hands. The Lord Treasurer-depute was at this time sheriff of Edinburghshire, and the council gave him Mr. Thomas Skene as his depute. (Wodrow, ii. 16, 17.) By statute the fines of all who are not heritors pertain to the sheriffs. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 9.) In 1681 Skene's name as sheriff appears among the ordinary officers of Parliament, and he obtained a ratification of the lands and barony of Preston in Linlithgowshire. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 231, 298.) That same year, on the 7th of November, Mr. Robert Martin, clerk of the criminal court, having declined swearing the test, (see before, p. 93,) Mr. Thomas Skene was installed in his room. He was deprived of his offices before the Revolution, and subsequently to that change, practised as an advocate, when his private affairs appear to have been in disorder. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 161, 192; ii. 277. Diary, 41. Act. Parl. Scot. ix. App. 89, 97, 109.)

† The Records of the town council of Edinburgh mention "Andro Bryssone, mercer," as "city treasurer;" and for several years before and after the Restoration, he is spoken of as "bailie of Portsburgh,"—"collector of impost," &c.

privately. He told me he had procured my peace with Mr. Skene, and therefore I might bring home all my goods that were dispersed; and desired me to live as quietly as I could. Accordingly, I brought home all with more confidence, and did lie more securely in my own house.

But within a little while, the same Skene ordered a party of foot, under the command of one Lieutenant Inglis,* to come and apprehend myself, and missing me to drive my goods. And so he marched out of Edinburgh at night, thinking to apprehend me in my bed; and, to make the more dispatch, they went to Gilmerton, and took horses to ride upon, and a guide to conduct them. However, I had a friend who lived there, who

* Several individuals of the name of *Inglis* appear to have been noted among the military who scourged the country at this period. A captain Inglis was guilty of great cruelty in the parish of Kilbride, in the year 1682. (Wodrow, ii. 244.) Cornet Peter Inglis, son of captain John Inglis, is celebrated in the annals of barbarity and crime. (Wodrow, ii. 509; Scots Worthies, App. p. 47.) But the person referred to in the text is "Archibald Inglis, a commander under Hallyards," (the brother of Thomas Skene,) whose pillaging and cruelties in the parish of East Monkland are described by Wodrow, (ii. 244-5.) Blackader mentions "a party of dragoons, commanded by one lieutenant Inglis, who kept garrison in Midcalder, of purpose to suppress these meetings," and who dispersed a conventicle at the Black Dub in Bathgate parish, where James Davie was killed. (Chrichton's Mem. of Blackader, p. 171.) From Wodrow (ii. 432,) it appears that Thomas Kennoway, afterwards cut off at Swine-abbey, was active in the attack on this field-meeting. Further particulars respecting him may be seen in the Life of Alexander Reid, lately reprinted, p. 55.

was apprehensive that they were either coming to take me, or some others that lived in Caringtou,* who were in the like circumstances. So he mounts upon a horse that they had left, and made all haste to give me warning. He, knowing the way some better than they, came by them in the night time, it being a thick fog. When he came to the house where I lived, he heard their tongues a little behind him, and so came to the chamber-window where I was lying, and called two or three times, "Make haste and get away, for there is a party at hand to apprehend you." I was fast asleep, but hearing a voice, I got up hastily and came to the window, but he was gone. I heard his horse's feet riding through the close, for he durst not stay, they were so near. I made haste and put on my breeches, and took the rest of my clothes in my arms. One of the servant-lasses that lay in the hall heard the man's words. She cried earnestly to me, to make haste, or then I would be taken. So I got to the back of the yard; and before I had well on my clothes, they were all about the house, guarding both back and foreside. But, through the good providence of God, I escaped out of their hands, and got into a wood that was hard by the house, where I was safe.

* The names of several persons in Carrington and the immediate neighbourhood are in the fugitive-roll given by Wodrow, vol. ii. app. p. 119.

So the ruffians fell to their work, beating and bruising the servants, because they would not tell them where I was. I had then some very godly servants. There was one that they abused more than the rest, and dragged him by the hair of the head to a pool of water, where they threatened to drown him, if he would not tell them whether or not I was in the house the night before; for not knowing that I had made my escape, but thinking I was hiding in the house, he would not tell them, lest he should have been accessary to my taking. And when they had brought him back from the pool, they stood with drawn swords at his breast, swearing they would run him through, if he would not tell. But they prevailed nothing with him. And then they made a diligent search; and when they could not find me they began their spoil. And, first, they seized a chest, where my clothes and papers lay, which they seized upon. There were only fifty merks of money, which Inglis put in his pocket; and then went to the fold and seized upon sheep, oxen, and all that was in the folds; and after that, packed up sheets and blankets, and all the furniture of the house, as much as loaded several horses. And when they had set sentinels, and made all secure, they caused make ready breakfast; and after that went away with horses, cows, oxen, sheep, and all that they could conveniently carry away with them. My uncle, hearing of what was done, came with all speed,

and stopped all at the end of the Long Causeway, till he went to Mr. Skene with a grieved heart, and bought them from him for a considerable sum of money, for which he gave his bond to pay within a few days, which accordingly he did.

After this I was made to wander up and down. My uncle and sister caused shear* the crop. And, after it was disposed of, I, paying off all debts I was owing, went into Edinburgh, and took a house; resolving, with what little money was left, I would fall a trading privately, and so went once to London, and another time to Newcastle. But I was soon deprived of this design, times growing still worse and worse. It came to this, that none might set a house, or entertain or converse with any that were in my circumstances, but they were reputed to be as guilty as we were. Whereupon I was necessitated to leave the country, with many others, lest we should bring trouble upon our friends.

Then I went and remained at London for two years,† but did not agree with the air; took the ague, and after that a sore flux, which continued long with me, and brought me exceeding low. When I parted with my friends at Edinburgh, they were very pressing with me that I would write to them, to let them know how I was, which accordingly I did, which proved hurtful both to myself and them.

* reap. † He probably went to London in April or May 1683.

There were two other young men that went up in the ship with me who were both in my circumstances. We all three wrote home at one time, to let our friends know how it was with us; which letters we sent with a young gentleman that came up passenger in the ship with us. After he went from London he was detained by contrary winds at Gravesend, and before he came to Scotland there was something broke out which was called Monmouth's Plot, so that all ports were stopped, and passengers searched for letters. Whereupon the gentleman was apprehended and brought before the council of Scotland, and cleared himself by his oath that he knew nothing of us, but that we went up passengers with him in a ship for London. But when our letters were read before the council, and our names found to be in the Porteous roll,* our friends were seized upon and carried to prison, and next day were examined. The Lords alleged we were concerned in the plot; and especially, because of one expression I had in my letter to my sister, which was, after several exhortations for her to keep God's way, I said, "Though there be a sore scattering among God's people, yet I hoped the Lord would bring them together again, for there was a work upon the wheels which would tend to the glory of God and

* This was a list of the persons indicted to appear before the justiciary court.

the good of his people." So our friends were continued in prison a considerable time, and at length, through moyen, came out upon bail. O! how grieving was this to us.

But that which made it still more weighty was, that we had desired our friends, when they wrote to us, to direct their letters to us, to be left at a very worthy Christian man's house, one John Brown, who lived near Bow Church-yard. And so the council had written up to court to apprehend three rebels, (as they were pleased to term us,) who were to be found in that man's house; whereupon, they sent to apprehend us, but we did not lodge there, and neither did the honest man know any of us by our names, we using only sometimes in his house to take a glass of cyder, he being a Scotsman. However, he was brought before the king and council. He told, he knew none of us. He was ordered, upon his oath, either to apprehend us, if we came to his house, or return to prison. This being straitening to the honest man, he was returned to prison, until he took advice of friends what to do. Their advice was, for him to send word to us not to come near his house, assuring us of our hazard; and then he did comply with what was demanded of him. After he came out of prison, he knew not how to get us informed what was done against us; but being informed at court of our names, and that we were lately come from Scotland, he made

diligent search for us amongst all Scotsmen that he knew. At length he happened upon one John Whyt, who had lately come from Scotland, who was also in our circumstances, who knew us; and he desired him to make diligent search for us, and inform of our hazard, and to desire us not to come to his house, for if we did, he was obliged to apprehend us. And likewise to tell us what was befallen our friends in Scotland upon our account. This man made search for us several days, and at length found us at a Scotsman's house about two miles from the city; who, when he had found us, was very glad, and gave us a relation of the whole matter, which was very afflicting to us all. So we kept ourselves out of the city a considerable time, till I and one of my comrades fell sick, and came and lodged privately in the city.

After my recovery from my long sickness, I began to think I had now spent considerable part of the money I had brought along with me; and I began to speak to friends to see if they could wish me to any employment. There was an honest man that made it his business to lay out himself for me, and at length found out a family which was a very easy service, but somewhat difficult for one in my circumstances to engage in. The gentleman was an old colonel to king Charles I., and being very zealous for his master, that day he was beheaded, in the presence of the guards, speaking in his master's fa-

vours, was knocked down to the ground, and was carried home almost dead, but recovered and remained deaf, without hearing to his dying day. He was great in favours with the king, and also with the duke of York. This colonel had a good woman to his lady, that kept none in her family but dissenters: * she being informed of me sent

* Several instances occur of shelter being found for the persecuted in such situations as the above. Previous to the civil wars, while Dr. Scott, dean of York, was employed at cards or other games, to which he was much addicted, Mrs. Scott was attending a conventicle in another room; the dean's house being reckoned the safest place for holding such assemblies. (Brook's Lives of the Puritans, iii. p. 528.) Tradition has handed down a similar account of Chancellor Rothes's lady. She used to frequent conventicles at Glenvail, and supported several of the persecuted ministers. The Earl, on her account, winked at them, and was in the habit of saying, when he happened to see any of them about the house, "My lady, I would advise you to keep your chickens in about, else I may pick up some of them." Forty individuals having been taken into custody for a conventicle in Glenvail, were brought before the Earl of Rothes at Leslie, and he was asked what was to be done with them: "Put them (said he) in bailie Walker's back-room, the place they all like so well." The bailie was a religious man, and his back-room was often occupied as a place of social prayer. When the Earl was asked what farther commands he had about them, he answered, "Give them plenty of meat and drink, and set them about their business in the morning." The following anecdote of Crawford of Powmill is given on the same authority. A party of soldiers came one day to apprehend a neighbour of his, a tenant at Pittendriech. The man, who was building a stack, threw down his fork and ran to Powmill, and meeting the laird, implored him for shelter, crying, Where shall I run? "O, never fear! (replied Powmill) get into my bed; they'll never seek a saint in hell." When the party came to Powmill, the laird had all his people called out to search for the fugitive, but he could not be found.

for me. When I came to her, she told me, she had got an account of me that I was an honest man, and it was such she wanted. And told me all the circumstances of the family; and that I might have as much liberty upon the sabbath-day as I desired, because her husband, by reason of his infirmity, always kept at home on the sabbath-day; but that he had no liking to dissenters, but I might be there long enough in his company, before he understood what my principles were. So we agreed for six pounds per year, and a suit of clothes; and all I had to do was to wait upon this old gentleman, who was past seventy years of age. I entered home, and pleased my master exceeding well; for he took much delight in his garden, and I encouraged him as much that way as I could, it being a harmless divertisement. He was very temperate: only his garden, the coffee-house, and the king's court were the most part of his exercise; and then I became a courtier, having him constantly to attend, because of his infirmity. I became very great in his favours, for in a short time I could answer him by signs, which were shorter than writing, which pleased him very well; so that he mounted me all new, and bought me a fine walking sword. The man was rich, and had no children. I had both his kindness and my lady's. So I began to build a paradise to myself, which I was soon frustrated of, my master and I being warned to compear and

take the oaths. So soon as my lady heard thereof, she called for me, and said, "Woe is me! for I fear this oath will discover you; for if once your master knows your principles, he will keep you no longer." She told me the nature of the oath, and said, "If ye have freedom to take it there will be no hazard." I told her I had no freedom to take it, for if I had been clear for taking such oaths, I might have staid in my own country. Then she said, "I fear your master will be your greatest enemy." And then she began to give me her advice what to do: and that was to convoy my master to the court, where there would be a great crowd of people, so that I might shift him among the throng, and when the court was over, to wait for him at the door of the house, and he would not know but I had taken it. My master, being zealous for taking the said oath, rose more early that morning than ordinary, and called me to go alongst with him. We came to the place, and were with the first; the justice, and clerks, and constables being come, and but a few others. Whenever my master entered the house, and I saw so few, I withdrew and went away. The justice, seeing me come in with the colonel, said to the constables, "Call the colonel's man, who is going away, and bring him back to take the oath." I heard him give the orders, but I went fast away. However, the two constables ran after me, and overtook me, and brought me back. The justice

said, "Sir, why do you go away before ye take the oath?" I said, "I came to conduct my master, but not to take any oath." He said, "But ye shall take it before ye go." He said, "There was none that would refuse it." I told him I was but a stranger, and knew not the nature of their oaths. He said, "I shall cause read it to you." After it was read, he said, "What think ye of it?" I desired time to consider it, till the next court day. He said, "Ye shall have no longer time to consider it." If I would not take it presently I should immediately go to prison. And so he sent to call another justice, to concur with him, in sending me to prison. So I was brought within the bar. The colonel, sitting beside the justice, having taken the oath, asked, what was the reason why his man was brought within the bar as a prisoner. They wrote to him, (knowing his infirmity) that I had refused to take the oath, and that I desired time to consider of it, for I was a stranger. Then my master pled strongly for me, saying, "I was a stranger indeed; a north countryman, that understood not an oath." But, said he, "Give him liberty till next court day, and my life for it he will take it, for he is a true church-of-England-man." However, he could not prevail, till an answer came from the other justice that he could not come at present. Whereupon, he demanded my name, and I told him. He said, "If the other

justice had come, ye should surely have gone to prison, but seeing he has not come, go your way, in regard ye are the colonel's man; but resolve with yourself to take it against the next court day, or ye shall surely go to prison!" I gave a bow, and so came away.*

* It does not appear what oath or oaths Brysson was required to take; but when Mr. Frazer of Brae was apprehended at London, in 1683, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the Oxford oath, were all put to him. (Wodrow, ii. 289.) The English oath of allegiance was much less exceptionable than the Scottish, having been drawn up by James I. to meet, if possible, the views of the Roman Catholics, whom he was very desirous of attaching to his government. The Scottish oath consisted of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy blended together. Those who wish to be acquainted with the reasons on account of which Presbyterians scrupled to take it, both in relation to the civil part, (as involving a renunciation of what the parliament had done in behalf of its privileges and the liberties of the nation between 1640 and 1650,) and in relation to the ecclesiastical part of the oath, may see them stated at large by Brown, in his Apologetical Relation, sections 10th, 11th, and 14th. Complicated and ensnaring as it was, the rulers pressed this oath with the utmost rigour. It was imposed on all who were in any public employment, civil, military, or religious. At every meeting of the circuit, the members of the court of justiciary, down to the macers, were made anew to swear it, or the test, and sometimes both. On such occasions great crowds of people, accused of absenting themselves from church, attending conventicles, harbouring rebels, &c. and whose names had been taken down by the local magistrates, or the ministers of parishes, were summoned: if they agreed to take the test, they were dismissed as persons who had transgressed the law in ignorance; and if they refused it, though willing to swear the allegiance, they were fined, imprisoned, put in the juggs, or banished to the plantations. (Minutes of the Circuit Court in Dumfries-shire, &c. in the Register House.)—In the year 1674 the privy council ordered a rendezvous of the militia

My master, seeing me liberated, came to me, and said, "Woe is me, George, ye was almost a prisoner to-day; however, let us go to the coffee-house, and let me know your mind." So when we came to the coffee-house, he said, "I hear ye refuse to take the oaths. I have so much kindness for you, that if you had told me ye had not freedom to take them, I would not have brought you alongst with me this day."

That which is most remarkable, we were not well come from the court, when the other justice came, and asked, what he was sent for. The other told him, that there was a man, whom

regiment in the shire of Stirling, that the officers and soldiers might take the oath of allegiance before receiving their arms. This having produced a mutiny, the council ordered £60, "out of the fines," to be paid to the troop for their service, and a gratuity of £100 to the laird of Alva, the lieutenant-colonel, "in consideration of his wound received," in suppressing the mutiny. Corporal Rae and others were imprisoned; and four individuals, tenants and "sojors of the militia regiment," were banished "for refusing the oath of allegiance." (Record of Privy Council, for July 21, Sept. 2 and 29, and Dec. 17, 1674.)—So zealous were the clergy for the ecclesiastical part of the oath, that they embraced every opportunity of recognising the king as head of the church, a title which never had been given to the sovereign in the Scottish oath of supremacy, nor in that of England since the accession of Elizabeth. "Oct. 10, 1683. The Synod of Edinburgh sat down, and not having much else to do, enacted, 1*mo*, That ministers should not sit in the pulpit, but stand all the time they are in it. 2*do*, That they shall, *per expressum*, pray for the archbishops and bishops. 3*tio*, Shall, in praying for the king, mention his being *supreme head of the church*, in all causes and over all persons," &c. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 423.)

he judged to be a Scotsman, who had refused to take the oaths; and "I sent for your concurrence to send him to prison." He asked, where I was. He told, I was gone. He asked, if he knew my name; for "I fear he is one of the Scots rebels." He said, "The clerk has his name." When he knew it, he took out the Porteous roll, (which he had,) wherein he found my name, and said, "He is one of them." Whereupon, an order was presently issued out for apprehending me. The order was given to the constables to go next morning and apprehend me. There was a gentleman in the court, who had formerly been a servant to the colonel, and heard the orders given out against me, who came immediately to my master's house. We not being come home, he asked my lady, if the colonel had a servant that had refused the oaths. She said, "I fear it may be so." Then he told her, there was a warrant out to apprehend me. So when we came home, my lady took me apart, and asked how matters went, and I told her what had happened, and how my master took my part; for he said to me in the coffee-house, (after I had written my mind to him,) that he was afraid they would come and apprehend me, which would be great trouble to him, to have me apprehended in his house. When my lady heard this, she was much troubled, and said, "Indeed there is a warrant out to apprehend you!" This was in the

evening. She said, "I am much afraid ye may be surprised, for the warrant is given out against to-morrow; therefore, I desire ye would rise early in the morning, and make your escape." Which, accordingly, I did. My lady was up in the morning betimes, and was pleased to bestow a compliment upon me, besides what I had received from her husband: so we parted with grief on both sides; and so I was in my old condition again.

All this time I had longings to be at home in poor Scotland, where I thought there was most of the life and power of the gospel ordinances. Sometime after that, major Henderson * came to me, and told me he had a letter from a friend in Holland, that Monmouth was coming over to England, with a body of men and arms, and that Argyle was going for Scotland, and hoped the Lord would make use of them as instruments for delivering his poor oppressed people; and that

* The name of James Henderson appears in a list of persons chosen for general officers at Shawhead-muir, June 17, before the battle of Bothwell. (Wilson's Bothwell, in Collection of Lives, &c. p. 93.) James Henryson, son to Thomas Henryson, in Westertown of Inglistown, Edinburghshire, is in the fugitive-roll after that engagement. A person of the same name was a major in Argyle's expedition, (Wod. ii. 532,) and was tried for treason in absence, along with Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchenbreck, &c. and sentenced to be executed. (Ibid. p. 587.) Major Henderson is included in the act rescinding forfeitures, and was killed at the battle of Killicrankie. (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 166. App. 61.)

he resolved to go for Holland, and join the Earl of Argyle. So I took the opportunity, with other five, to go alongst with him. We had great difficulty in getting over; all persons being challenged at all sea-ports that went either out or in. The major being acquainted with a Dutch skipper, who trysted him, and those that were to go alongst with him, to be at Gravesend upon the day before king James was crowned, that so we might set sail on the coronation day,* on which we would be least taken notice of, most part of people going to London to see the Coronation. He was resolved to put us aboard in the night time. And so, accordingly, we came down by water. The major went to the place appointed by the skipper, and ordered us to stay in the boat till he came again; but behold, the ship was detained at London, upon the account of her cocket! Then we knew not what to do. However, we resolved to brisk it out the best way we could; and inquired for the best tavern in the town, and caused carry our cloakbags there, resolving to stay till to-morrow, to see if the ship came down the river. So we called for a bottle of wine, and drank with the landlord, and told him, we were to stay all night, having some business to do. He said, we should be very welcome.

* James was crowned on St. George's day, the 23d of April, 1685.

We desired him to cause make ready dinner for us. He asked, what we would have. We desired him to make ready a good dinner, for we were hungry. And, in the mean time, we spared not the wine, on purpose to keep ourselves from being suspected.

In the evening the major stept out, to see if the ship were come; but no appearance of her. He heard of another ship to sail for Amsterdam on the morrow; so he went to the skipper, and desired to know, what time he would sail. He said, "To-morrow at ten o'clock." The major earnestly desired him to stay till four in the afternoon, and there were seven passengers that would go alongst with him. He said, he would not stay so long for any man; but if we would make ourselves ready by one o'clock he should stay that long; and if we were not ready peremptorily by that time he would leave us. This we did, that we might not be detained on board after we came to the ship, but that the ship might sail immediately, lest we should be challenged. On the morrow we caused our landlord make ready dinner sooner than ordinary, and then called for a reckoning; and after dinner drank heartily with the landlord. He saw us so hearty, he would needs give us his bottle. By which time the skipper came, and said, "Gentlemen, if ye ben't ready, I will stay no longer for you." So we caused carry our cloakbags on board, and desired

the skipper to loose anchor, and cause the boat wait for us, for we would come immediately; which accordingly he did. We stayed till we were sent for again. The boy told us the ship was now under sail, and if we came not presently we would be disappointed. Whereupon we ventured out, and went into the boat, and no man ever questioned us, and were safely put on board, and sailed to Amsterdam with a very fair wind, and were kindly received.

[On receiving intelligence of the death of Charles II., several Scottish gentlemen who had been banished, or forced to withdraw to Holland, by the severities of the time, met in Rotterdam to consult concerning the state of their native country, and their own duty in that critical juncture of affairs. After a free communication of sentiments, they were unanimously of opinion that, considering the natural temper and past conduct of the Duke of York, and the principles of the religion to which he was devoted, his succession to the imperial crown of the three kingdoms threatened their religion and liberties with the most imminent danger; and that the behaviour of the parliaments for a course of years, with the means used to pack and manage them, and the ease with which he could raise a numerous army among the barbarous and bigoted natives of Ireland, would render it easy for him to "carry on his terrible work of settling and rivetting popery and slavery

in, and eradicating Christianity and liberty, (the chief blessings of a society) out of these nations; at least, would make the means of preventing these great and imminent dangers more narrow and scarce, and the practice more difficult and dangerous." Being also agreed and satisfied as to the obligation that lay upon them, as Christians and as natives of Scotland, "to endeavour the rescue, defence, and relief of their religion, rights, and liberties, and the many distressed sufferers on their behalf, against the Duke of York and others, and of the probability and convenience of the present opportunity," they did "resolve and determine to try how far they could reasonably undertake and pursue their clear duty in the matter." As "the wicked designs against the true religion," and for establishing "tyrannical monarchy," were not confined to Scotland, they deemed it proper, both in point of justice and prudence, to solicit the concurrence of the cordial friends of the common cause in the three kingdoms; "especially considering that by want thereof, those two worthy appearances of our countrymen, the honourable assertors of our religion and liberties, at Pentland hills and Bothwell bridge, were so soon deserted and frustrated."

As the first step to the accomplishment of this object, they resolved to sound the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Argyle, who were then in the Low Countries. The duke having come to

Rotterdam to consult with them, entered fully into their views. The earl not only approved of their design, but urged them to accompany him without delay in an expedition to Scotland which he had already planned. Before pledging themselves, they requested to be made acquainted with his preparations, plans, and grounds of hoping for co-operation at home. He told them that, by the liberality of certain individuals favourable to the cause, with whom he had become acquainted in England,* he had been enabled to lay out ten thousand pounds in the purchase of arms and ammunition, a ship and provisions; that he had extensive correspondence with Scotland, could raise five thousand men among his own vassals, and had assurances of support from other quarters of the kingdom; and that, being intimately acquainted with the different parts of the country, he knew where to land, march, and encamp to the best advantage; but that it behoved them to place confidence in him, as he could not impart particulars to them without breach of confidence, and hazard to the whole undertaking. The gentlemen were satisfied with the manner in which he had expended the money intrusted to him, but thought they were entitled to more explicit information on the other points on which they had conversed.

* See before p. 138, 147, and Wodrow, ii. 541.

Argyle having testified an aversion to co-operate with Monmouth, and some of their own number being jealous that the duke aimed at gratifying his own personal ambition, the gentlemen procured another interview with his grace. On that occasion, Sir Patrick Hume (created earl of Marchmont at the Revolution) asked him, if he considered himself as the lawful son of the late king, and if he intended to lay claim to the crown. To the first question the duke replied in the affirmative; and in answer to the last, he said that he had no intention of claiming the crown, "unless it were advised to be done by those who should concern themselves and join for delivery of the nations;" and that, if he should be advised to assume the title of king, he would, in the event of success, "give it up in the hands of the people or their representatives, accept of what station in the commonwealth they should bestow on him, and think himself fully rewarded by being instrumental of so much good to the nations." Sir Patrick having told him, that they found many of their best friends in England "jealous of his aspiring to the royal dignity, *of which, by reason of the great abuses of it, and the miserable consequences so habitual as now become its second nature, they were extremely disgusted;** and so somewhat averse from

* Mr. Rose has made no remark on these words of the ancestor of his noble friend. It would be wrong to infer from them, that those

meddling with him," Monmouth repeated what he had formerly stated, with such deep and solemn asseverations as removed the suspicions of the most jealous.

Greater difficulty was felt in coming to an arrangement with Argyle. He thought himself entitled to manage every thing relating to the expedition as he judged best, because he had procured the funds necessary for fitting it out. The gentlemen pleaded, that these funds were put into his hands for advancing the common cause, and that, by taking part in this, they had a right to be consulted as to the disposal of them. In conversing on the expedition, he talked of himself as general. They had never thought of any other for that post, but considered that he should owe

who planned this expedition were of republican principles; but it is difficult to give such an interpretation of them as does not imply, that they wished to avoid pledging themselves in support of monarchy, out of deference to such of their friends as had conceived a disgust at it. As they speak elsewhere of their opposing "*tyrannical* monarchy," it is not improbable that they contemplated the retaining of monarchy, in the way of imposing on the person invested with it greater restraints than any monarch had hitherto been laid under in Britain. In their Declaration, afterwards published, they state their object to be "the removing of all oppression, and establishing such righteous laws and *methods of government*, as may be most for securing of liberty and property, with the greatest ease and equality." And this was to be "settled and perfected by a free, full, just, and sovereign representative of all the present undertakers, and such as shall hereafter sincerely concur and take part with us; and that in such forms and ways as God, by his good providence, can only most happily direct and conduct us unto."

it to their previous choice. He was willing to consult a council of the officers as to military operations; but they pleaded that, besides this, a superior authority was required to manage correspondence, to declare the war, to appoint officers, and generally to act as a council of state; a proposition to which the earl testified great antipathy. With the view of accommodating a material point of difference between them, it was agreed that Argyle should make those communications to one of the gentlemen, ("his own great friend, long acquaintance, and confidant,") which he thought it dangerous to make to the whole; but when that individual gave in a favourable report to his brethren it was unsatisfactory to them, because it turned out that he did not himself intend to go along with the expedition,* and that he had formed his opinion, not on evidence laid before him, but on the general assurances which he received from the earl, that he had the strongest ground to expect support on his landing, and that his plans were the best calculated for insuring success. Matters were on the eve of a rupture between the two parties, when the earl was prevailed on by some of his friends to yield to the demands of the gentlemen. But this was not

* Was this Lord Stair? He was an intimate friend of Argyle, (Sup. Dict. Decis. ii. 515, 640, comp. Douglas, Peer. ii. 521,) and was a contributor to the expedition, but did not accompany it. (See before, p. 147.)

done until Sir Patrick Hume, in answer to a question proposed by one of Argyle's friends, had declared that he thought it their duty "to break any design ill-laid or not founded on solid grounds; and that it was in their power to frustrate and stop it, and serve their nation in preventing its harm that way;" or, in other words, that they would write home to their friends, and dissuade them from taking part with Argyle, or giving countenance to a rash attempt, which was calculated to do more harm than good to the nation. This did not promise well for mutual confidence and cordial co-operation in the undertaking, the failure of which may be ascribed in no small degree to the jealousies and dissensions which broke out in Holland.

In consequence of this private agreement, a meeting was held at Amsterdam, (to which they had removed,) on the 17th of April, 1685. The persons present were the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles Campbell, his son, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, William Denholm of Westshiels, George Hume of Bassindeen, John Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. George Wisheart, William Cleland, James Stuart, advocate, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot. Sir John Cochrane was chosen president for that time.* "Then, (says Sir Patrick Hume)

* "They elected and nominated Mr. William Spence their clerk," say the Minutes, as given by Wodrow, ii. 530.

after several discourses by the Erle and others, we resolved on the following points, and made acts upon them: 1st, To declare and undertake a war against the Duke of York and his assisters, for restoring and settling of the true religion, and the native rights and liberties of the three kingdoms.* 2d, That wee took upon us, and other gentlemen of our country in these pairts who should joine and goe along with us, the power and character of a counsell for managing the said undertaking, and all that related thereunto; so as when wee came into Scotland, others, such as wee, joining to our assistance, should also have access to, and be joined in, the said counsell for the said management. 3d, We nominated and choosed the erle of Argyle to be general of our army, with as full power as was usually given to generalls by the free states of Europe. 4th, Wee appointed a person to draw up the declaration of war,† to be given in to our next meeting." The

* The Minutes of the meeting do not mention "the three kingdoms," but describe the undertaking as "in the defence and for the recovery of the religion, rights, and liberties of the kingdom of *Scotland*." (Wodrow, *ut supra*.)

† The Declaration agreed on and published is inserted in Wodrow, ii. Append. No. cxii. As he has not given its title, it may be proper to add it here, from a collection of Pamphlets in the Advocates Library. (No. ccc. 2, 33, art. 15.) "The Declaration and Apology of the Protestant people, that is, of the Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Commons of all sorts now in armes within the Kingdome of Scotland, with the concurrence of their true and faithfull Pastors, and of several Gentlemen of the

council gave a commission to some of their number to call together the Scottish ministers at Rotterdam, and ask their advice and concurrence. Accordingly, having met to the number of thirteen, "they, after advising together, declared their good liking and approbation of our undertaking as a great duty, and offered to join us as we judged necessary. We pitched on some of their number to go along, who condescended and after did accompany us." *

No time was now lost in setting forward the expedition. Matters were arranged with Monmouth, who communicated to the Scottish confederates the encouraging intelligence which he had received from England, and promised to sail on the sixth day after their departure. On the 28th of April the earl of Argyle and all his company went on board the fleet, consisting of the Anna, Sophia, and David, which were off the Vlie on the

English Nation joined with them in the same cause, for defence and relief of their lives, Rights, and Liberties, and recovery and re-establishment of the true Protestant Religion, in behalf of themselves and all that shall join with and adhere to them.

"Printed at Campbell-Town, in Kintyre, in the Shire of Argyle. Anno 1685."

* "It is resolved that Mr. William Veitch, Mr. George Barclay, and William Clellan, be dispatched to Scotland, and instructed for that effect." (Minutes, *ut supra.*) The first two of these were ministers. It does not appear whether any of the ministers, besides Mr. Thomas Archer, accompanied the expedition.

1st of May, and sailed next morning for Scotland with a fair wind.] *

Within three days after, we set sail for Scotland. We were not above 300 men in all, but had three ships, loaded with good arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries for war. We had a very quick passage; but, alas! we came to the wrong place of the kingdom. We came to the isles of Orkney, where we put two men ashore to give [get?] intelligence, who were presently apprehended.† After this we went about to Argyle's land, where we put through the fire-cross, so that a number of Highlanders resorted to us. After this we got information that there was an English man-of-war pursuing us. Whereupon we went down a little creek to an old castle, belonging to one Allengreg,‡ where we lodged all our arms

* What is enclosed in brackets from p. 305 has been inserted to supply a defect in Brysson's account of the expedition. It is abridged chiefly from Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, published at the end of Mr. Rose's remarks on Mr. Fox's History.

† These were William Spence and Dr. William Blackader, son to the Rev. John Blackader. On the 14th of May the council received information from the bishop of Orkney, that Argyle had touched there with three ships. (Fount. Decis. i. 302.)

‡ "January 18, [1686.] Duncan Campbel of Allangreg, younger, confesseth his accession to the late Earl of Argyle's rebellion, casts himself on the king's mercy. He, with his father, Colin Campbell of Allangreg, are sentenced to be executed July 9, at the cross of Edinburgh; but remissions were got by that time." (Wodrow, ii. 587.) Though under process themselves, they were employed as witnesses against others, according to a practice of that time. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 389, 390.) So early as

and other provisions, and built a fort on the west side of the castle, and planted some cannon thereon, in case the man-of-war should come down the river, which we thought she could hardly do by reason of the shallowness of the water. In the mean time the duke of Athol * had raised a considerable body of men, who came and assaulted us, so that we were drawn away from the castle, and left only 150 men to defend the same, in case it should be attacked. By this time we had a considerable number of Highlanders and men from the Isle of Cantyre, so that we went in pursuit of Athol's men, who constantly fled from us. We were pursuing them several days, and were still looking for more supplies from the low country, but none came to us. In the mean time, when we were thus taken up, the man-of-war, beyond our expectation, came down the river, which, whenever our men that we had left saw, they were necessitated to leave the castle and come a-shore in boats, and set a train to blow up the magazine, for they saw all was lost. But the train did misgive, so that the enemy got all. When we heard this, Argyle and all that were

September 18, 1685, the council wrote to court, "that by a mistake Allangreg had been recommended for a remission as to life and fortune, whereas *they never recommended any for a remission but as to life.*" (Wodrow, ii. 556.) This was also the uniform practice of the Spanish Inquisition. The principle is older: *Plures computant quam oderunt,* says Seneca.

* Athol was only a marquis at this time.

with him were extremely discouraged, and so we left pursuing Athol's men. After that we marched to the Lowlands, thinking to increase our number.*

[Argyle marched with his army to Glenderule, where he remained three days, in the expectation of obtaining recruits. From that he proceeded to Loch Streen Head, where he was obliged to send out a party to seize the cattle for the support of his troops. The earl now became discouraged. His vassals had not flocked, as he expected, to his standard, and more deserted than joined him at every station on his way to the low country. The number of Highlanders who remained did not exceed five hundred, and the whole army scarcely amounted to nine hundred. But as these appeared to be hearty in the cause, his leading associates encouraged him to advance and quit the Highlands without farther delay. Accordingly, they "crossed Loch Long troublesomely in boats, and lay on the rocky side of it all night." Thence they marched to Loch Gaire. At that place they received intelligence that Huntly was advancing with a considerable body of men to join Athole, and that Dumbarton, with the standing forces and militia, was in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. The earl proposed

* A fuller account of what took place in the Highlands is given by Sir Patrick Hume, (Narrative, 42—55,) and by Wodrow. (History, ii. 531—535.) But the facts are not interesting.

immediately to cross the water of Leven, and give battle to the king's troops wherever they might meet them on their way to Glasgow. This was opposed by Sir Patrick Hume, who urged that, having lost their arms and ammunition in the fort, by which their men were exceedingly discouraged, they could not fight the royal forces in a body with any hopes of success. He proposed that the earl should march back with his Highlanders by the head of Loch Long to Argyleshire, where, having fortified the pass at the head of the Loch, he could easily maintain himself, and levy soldiers among his vassals; and that the rest of the troops, consisting of the volunteers who had come from Holland, and the Lowlanders who had joined them since their arrival, should be divided, that the one half should be sent down Loch Long, and the other half down Loch Gaire, to land at places where there were no forces at present, and that they should then retire to strong grounds, in which they could maintain themselves until their friends in different parts of the country should join them. To this proposal the earl positively refused to accede. "Any that would not go with him (he said) might do as they pleased; his intention was not to fight the enemy if he could shift them, but to march straight to Glasgow, and there do the next best." Those who had the most slender hopes of success were still unwilling to leave the earl; "and I (says Sir

Patrick) again persuaded the most unwilling, that wee did not separate."

On Tuesday, the 16th of June, they marched from Loch Gaire and crossed the water of Leven at night, three miles above Dumbarton, after they had spent five weeks in the Highlands. Next morning early they marched, "weary and hungry enough." About seven o'clock they discovered a large party of horse, which they considered to be the advance of the army, but which turned out to be a company of militia sent to observe them. After the men had stood to their arms for about an hour, the earl ordered them to proceed on their march, not by the hill-way to Glasgow, but by the village of Kilmaronock, to which they were conducted by Sir John Cochrane,* with the view of procuring them refreshment.]†

But on our weary march as night came on us, and we began to set our watches, and to take some rest, behold, a party of the king's forces appeared in our view! Whereupon the drums were beat, and all were called to arms immediately; and so we were deprived of any rest, which would have been very refreshing to us. We began to conclude that these troops we had seen were only some of the militia gentlemen, and that it could not be

* William Cochrane of Kilmaronock was Sir John's nephew. (Douglas, Peerage, i. 472.)

† These two paragraphs are abridged from Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative.

the king's forces; so we marched all that night towards Glasgow. Being hungry and faint, we appointed some men out of every company to go to several parts of the country about to bring us provision, and we were to rest in the moor till they returned; but before ever they went away, the enemy began to appear in our sight; so that we were frustrated of that design, and were forced to keep our weems,* till we got meat for them. And then we drew up upon a moor-side; there being a water betwixt us and the enemy. We were firmly resolved to fight them, come of it what would, if they attacked us, though we were far inferior to them. However, we lay there all that day; but they never approached towards us. So when it began to grow dark, there was a council of war holden, and it was resolved that we should march away in the night time; and to make the enemy believe that we were still keeping our ground, every company were commanded to put on great bales of fire, there being abundance of peats, and turfs, and heather in the place; and when we had done this, we took our march.

I do not mind what regiment took the leading, but, however, they led us all wrong, for they brought us into a moss, which broke us all from one another; and although we were a very good army at night, we were so dispersed that there

* stomachs.

was not above 500 of us together on the morrow. All people being wonderfully discouraged, took the opportunity to leave us in the night; but those that came together on the morrow came to Kirkpatrick. For, indeed, we lost many brave men by reason of the darkness of the night, who would have been loath to have left us; especially one Rumbold,* an Englishman, who came from Holland with us.

[" Next morning, (says Sir Patrick Hume,) being Thursday, June 18, wee came back to Kil-

* While colonel Richard Rumbold was bravely defending himself against a large party, a countryman came behind him with a pitch-fork and turned his steel cap off his head; upon which he said, " O cruel countryman! to use me thus, when my face is to mine enemy." (Scots Worthies, App. p. 48.) As there was hazard of his dying of his wounds, his trial was hastened, and he was executed at Edinburgh on the afternoon of the day on which he was condemned, June 26, 1685. " He was certainly a man of much natural courage," says Lord Fountainhall; " his rooted, ingrained opinion was for a republic against monarchy, to pull which down he thought a duty and no sin. And on the scaffold he began to pray for that party which he had been owning, and to keep the three metropolitan cities of the three kingdoms right; and that if every hair of his head was a man, he would venture them all in that cause. But the drums were then commanded to beat; otherwise he carried discreetly enough, and heard the ministers, but took none of them to the scaffold with him." (Decisions, i. 366.) That he died piously appears from Wodrow's account, which contains no avowal of republican principles. He solemnly denied that there was any design to kill the king in the Rye-house plot; and the credibility of his testimony has been supported by Mr. Fox with his usual clearness and force of argument. (History, pp. 220—223.)

patrick, not above 500 men in all, sadly wearied; soone as I got downe the hill very faint and weary, I tooke the first ale house aud quickly ate a bit of bread, and took a drink, and immediately went to search out the erle; but I met Sir John, with others accompanieing him; who, taking mee by the hand, turned mee, saying, "My heart, goe you with mee." "Whither goe you?" said I. "Over Clide by boate," said he. I, "Where is Argyle? I must see him." He, "He is gone away to his owne countrey: you cannot see him." I, "How comes this change of resolution, and that wee went not together to Glasgow?" He, "It is no time to answer questions; but I shall satisfy you afterward."] *

We resolved then to cross Clyde. But behold there was a troop of horse lying on the other side of the water, which made our passage most difficult. However, Sir John Cochrane said, "Gentlemen, it is not time for us to delay, for whenever the enemy does miss us in the morning, they will pursue; therefore, let us force our passage over the water." There were two boats; Sir John entered the one with about ten or twelve men, Polwart got into the other with as many men. The troop sent down four or five of their men on foot to the side of an old boat that lay at the side

* Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, p. 63.

of the river. Our men would have fired at them, but Sir John would not suffer them, because they had the old boat to be a defence to them; but desired them to forbear till they were nearer the side of the water. And then said, "I think our shot will now reach the body of their troop, so fire at them;" which was accordingly done. And one of their horses being shot dead, and some wounded, the five men that lay at the side of the old boat, firing at us, made haste to get to their horses, and so the whole troop fled; and we got ashore as fast as we could, and pursued them. They rode more than a mile before they stinted, and so drew up upon the top of a hill. So we sent the boats to and again, till we had brought over about 150 men. The Earl of Argyle, and the rest, refused to come over.

["An honest gentleman (says Sir Patrick Hume) who was present, told mee the manner of his (Sir John Cochrane's) parting with the erle. Argyle being in the room with Sir John, the gentleman, coming in, found confusion in the erle's countenance and speech; in end he said, "Sir John, I pray advise me, what shall I doe? shall I goe over Clide with you, or shall I goe to my owne countrey?" Sir John answered, "My lord, I have told you my opinion: you have some Highlanders here about you; it is best you goe to your owne countrey with them, for it is to no

purpose for you to goe over Clide. My lord, faire you well."] *

* Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, p. 64. Wodrow drew up his narrative of the expedition from statements made by Argyle himself, and from an account printed at the time, by one who vindicates the earl's conduct, and ascribes his failure to his having been thwarted in all his measures by some of those who accompanied him, particularly by Sir John Cochrane and the "famous orator," by whom he probably meant Sir Patrick Hume. Wodrow has been followed by Mr. Laing and Mr. Fox, neither of whom ever saw Sir Patrick's Narrative, which the public owes to the reflections on his conduct contained in Mr. Fox's History. Where dissensions have taken place, it is scarcely possible to form a perfectly correct opinion from the statements of only one of the parties. Mr. Fox had too much penetration not to perceive, and too much impartiality not to confess, the impetuosity and opinionativeness of Argyle, although he considered these faults as redeemed by gallantry of spirit, candour of mind, and kindness of heart. On the other hand, he acquits Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane of treachery, and allows that the one, as well as the other, showed himself "uniformly sincere and zealous in the cause of his country;" but then he has too hastily adopted the statement of Argyle, who (evidently referring to these two gentlemen) says, they were "the greatest cause of our rout, and of my being taken; though not designedly, I acknowledge, yet by ignorance, cowardice, and faction." (History, p. 197, 198, 213.) As applied to Sir John Cochrane, and even to Sir Patrick Hume, the charge of "cowardice" must certainly be abandoned; nor do I think that those who impartially read the statements on both sides, will be prepared to subscribe to the charges of "ignorance and faction." Sir Patrick Hume is described by one of his contemporaries as "a gentleman of clever parts—a lover of set speeches, and can hardly give an advice to a private friend without them." (Carstairs's Letters, p. 100.) It would seem that Argyle had conceived an early prejudice against him as pragmatical and irksome in his opposition, while Sir Patrick in his turn distrusted the earl as rash and headstrong. Mr. Fox would not have spoken (as he has done in his

There was a gentleman, whose house stood upon the water-side, who had provided a brewing of good ale, and a batch of oat loaves, to serve the king's forces, as we were informed. The gentleman being with the forces himself, we went in and refreshed ourselves; and indeed, we had great need, for some of us had eaten very little for three days, being still pursued by the enemy, and had slept none all that time. I tied up three loaves in my napkin, thinking to keep myself from such a strait for some time as I had been in before; and I tied them to my belt, but, through sleepiness and weariness, I lost all.

After this, we resolved to mount ourselves with horses, (being all well armed,) and to ride straight toward England, where we doubted not but Monmouth was prospering. But that troop of horse, which we had put from the water-side, got other two troops of militia, and so came upon

History, p. 213) of the "constant and seemingly peevish opposition" of Sir John Cochrane, if he had seen Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative; for it appears from that document, that Sir John uniformly took the side of Argyle during all the discussions in Holland, and that, after they landed in Scotland, he continued to excuse and support him, though convinced of the impolicy of his spending so much time in the Highlands. Taking this into consideration, I cannot help thinking that it goes far to exculpate Sir Patrick Hume from the charges brought against him, that it was Sir John Cochrane who ultimately advised Argyle to return to the Highlands, and who hurried Sir Patrick across the Clyde when he was inquiring after the earl.

us, and disappointed us of our design. They coming within our view, we marched up to a stead * that stood upon the top of a brae, where there was a very pretty thorn hedge enclosing a garden, into which we entered, and resolved there to stand for our defence. When we had waited a considerable time, and saw no appearance of their approach, Sir John says, "These cowardly rogues dare not come and attack us in this strength. Come, let us go out and fight them in the open fields." So he divided his 150 men into three companies: himself to command one; and Polwart, another; and major Henderson, the third. So we marched directly towards them, who were drawn up in a plain, a little below the house; who, at the very first appearance of us, fled and went quite out of our sight. So we saw no more of them till it was afternoon; by which time they had got other two troops, the one commanded by my lord Ross, the other by captain Cleland. These two, being trained forces, were more forward than the country gentlemen. They observed the way that we took, and so cast about an hill, and came just before us, and met us as we were coming up the hill. We were marching in two men rank, the small company that was then of us, for by this time we were decreased to threescore and ten, many dropping off as they

* A farm-house and offices.

had opportunity. When we were advanced a good way up the hill, they came suddenly upon us, and after firing, thought to have ridden us down; but Sir John cries, "Come up, my lads, and stand to it, and through God's grace I will bring you off." Though there was little appearance thereof, yet we took courage, knowing the worst of it. And after we had received their fire, we discharged upon them again very vigorously, and then betook us to our halberts, (for every man of us had a halbert, besides special firelocks) so that we made them retire. There was no harm done on either side at the first fire; only Mr. Thomas Archer, a young gentleman on our side, received a dangerous wound in the back, by which he was disabled, and left lying on the ground.

Then my lord Ross * sent one to treat with us, who told us, We were pretty men: why would we throw away our lives! would we not take quar-

* George, Lord Ross, who, with Claverhouse, repulsed Robert Hamilton and his friends at Glasgow in 1679, died on the 4th of May, 1682, and was attended by Presbyterian ministers on his death-bed. (Law's Mem. p. 224.) The person referred to in the text was his son William, who, when Master of Ross, commanded the party by which Brysson and his friends were defeated at Bewly. (See before, p. 283, and Wodrow, ii. 52.) His mother was lady Grizel Cochrane, only daughter of William, Earl of Dundonald, (Douglas, Peer. ii. 420,) and accordingly he was nephew to Sir John Cochrane. Helen, daughter of William Lord Cochrane, Sir John's elder brother, was married to Claverhouse. (Crawford's History of Renfrew, by Robertson, 85.)

ters? To which Sir John said, "We disdain your quarters! for we are appearing here for the protestant religion, and ye are fighting for popery, for which ye ought to be ashamed." So he returned with his answer. In the mean time, we got into an old stone-fold, which was a little defence to us. Sir John took the whole command upon him, and so divided us, and set one half on his right hand, and the other on his left, and gave orders to all to "charge and make ready," and ordered those on his right hand first to receive the enemy's fire, and after that not to fire till he gave them a sign by his napkin, and after the sign to fire briskly, and then to take their halberts in their hands, in case the enemy should attempt to come over the little stone-dyke, and to defend themselves bravely; and ordered those on his left not to fire when those on his right fired, till once he gave them another sign, and then to fire close upon the enemy, and after fire to take their halberts and defend themselves from being trodden down.

The enemy approached, and we received their fire, but fired none again till they came very near; and then Sir John gave the sign to those on his right hand, who gave a very close fire. The enemy, not knowing but our shot had been done, attempted to come over the dyke, and break in amongst us, but the lads on the right hand defended bravely. Then Sir John gave the sign to

those on the left, who fired furiously upon the enemy, so that several of their saddles were emptied, and amongst the rest captain Cleland was shot dead at the very dyke-side, so that they were forced to wheel again. One of our lads stept over the dyke and pulled Cleland's scarlet coat off him, and put it upon the top of his halbert, and waved it forgainst the enemy. They staid a considerable time before they made another assault; and we put ourselves in a posture of defence, and loaded our pieces, and made ourselves ready to receive them. We were ordered to behave ourselves as at the former onset. Sir John said, "They have now lost some blood; therefore they will make a vigorous assault; and, therefore, lads, take courage, and stand to it, for our cause is good." So at length they approached again, and we received them as formerly; and beat them from the dyke with the loss of more of their men. And if my lord Ross had not had on harness, he would have gone the same way Cleland went; for the ball broke upon his harness, and hurt him on the neck. They were so affrighted that they durst not give us the fourth onset. The dyke did us good service, and defended us much from their shot; for we were below them. We had none killed in all this action, except one man, who was shot through the head, and two more wounded; besides Mr. Archer, who was wounded at the first fire, before we came into the fold. After this,

they went to an old stone-dyke, and the dragoons 'lighted from their horses, and stood behind the dyke, where they continued pluffing and shooting without any harm to us, except that Sir John had two shot which lighted upon his buff-coat, which smarted very much, but did not pierce his coat. After they were weary with shooting they gave over.* Then Sir John said, "It becomes us to bless God for our wonderful preservation." He desired we would be all in a watchful posture; and, in the mean time, to go about the worship of God. And so he took a book and sang the forty-sixth Psalm throughout, and after that prayed pertinently. By this time our enemies had guarded us round as a ring, but without reach of our shot. It was an exceeding cold day as ever I saw at that time of the year. I had thrown off my big coat when we first engaged; and being cold, I went to seek it, where I found Mr. Archer groaning in his wounds. When I knew it was he, I was exceedingly troubled; he being an eminent Christian, and my intimate. He was almost dead, what for want of blood and for cold. He desired me to lift him to the beild † of a dyke, and cast something over him,

* This skirmish was fought at Muirdyke, (Wodrow, ii. 536,) which, in Blaev's map in Crawford's History of Renfrew, p. 130, is marked on the east of Lochwinnoch, to the southward of Castle Cochran.

† shelter.

which I did; and got a cloakbag and put under his head, and laid a cloak about him. I told him I could do no more for him at present, and that we were all yet still in hazard of our lives; for we were surrounded by the enemy. When I returned, I told Sir John that Mr. Archer was dying of his wounds, who ordered several to go alongst and carry him to a herd's house which was hard by, and give the people of the house money, desiring them to take care of him. They received him very kindly; from which place he was carried afterwards by the enemy to Edinburgh, where he was executed in the Grassmarket; whose speech and testimony are in record amongst the rest of the worthies who suffered for owning the truth.*

After this, when it began to grow dark, Sir John said, "What think ye of these cowardly rogues! They dare not fight us, for as small a number as we are, but have a mind to guard us in till to-morrow, that the body of the King's forces come and cut us off; therefore, let us still behave ourselves like men;" (for indeed there were very pretty men amongst us, that were expert both with sword and gun) "let us, therefore, charge our pieces well, and let us go off the field in a

* Mr. Thomas Archer, formerly mentioned, (p. 205) was a young minister of considerable learning, and much esteemed. An account of his execution and his dying declaration may be seen in Wodrow, ii. 552—556.

close body together, with as little noise as we can. If we escape them in the dark, it is well; if not, let us fight our way through them."

We buried our dead man, and so made ready for a march, and so went off the field in a close body, but saw none of our enemies, for they were more afraid of us than we were of them; for whenever it was dark, they had left their ground and fled into Kilmarnock, as if there had been an host pursuing them; as the country folk told us afterwards.* So when we had marched very hard for about a mile, Sir John said, "I think we are safely by them now;" we apprehending them to be still keeping their ground. So we began to consider what to do next. And because many had left us the day before, Sir John took an oath of us, that we should not part one from another, without leave asked and given; and then asked, who amongst us knew the ground to be our guide. There were none amongst us that knew it except himself, it being his father's ground that we were then on; so he took the guiding of us himself. And so we marched exceeding hard all that night, that so we might be a good way off from the enemy; but when day began to appear, that

* "We had no men killed in the action but four: few more wounded; but it was carried with that readiness of courage, that were I to choose 75 men upon my life's hazard, I would not reject one of that 75 (and no more ther was) that came off that night." (Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, p. 67.)

we saw about us, behold we had gone the round, and were come back within two miles of the place where we engaged the enemy! Sir John said, "Woe is me! I have led you into a snare. I know not now what to do for it; for if we keep the field the whole body of the forces will be upon us: so come of us what will, we must lodge in some house."

There was a stead hard by, where two of his father's tenants lived. He caused us all sit down upon the ground, till he sent major Henderson to acquaint the people that Sir John was there, and a company of men with him, and desired they might give us quarters; and to tell them, that, if they were quarrelled for it, we were a stronger party than they, and would take it by force; but they most willingly received us. And there was a wonderful providence in our being so near the place of engagement, for when they ranged all the country about, they came never near that place.* The major had travelled all that night with a bullet shot in his left shoulder, and sticking like a plum within the skin, none knowing of it but himself, which was cut out when we came to the house. We knew not

* "In the parish of Lochwinoch, in the shire of the Baronthrow [Renfrew] ther was a partie that was persewing of Sir John Cocheren, and they cam upon two lads laying sleeping in a dike sid, and shot them and not awaked them." (Wodrow MSS. vol. xxxvii. 4to. art. 142.)

whether meat or sleep was most desirable, for that was the fourth night we had been without sleep, and with very little meat. There was one of our company dropt asleep on the ground where we had been sitting. When we came to the house we did not miss him, his halbert and his gun being with him. After we were all lodged in the house he slept on, till some people, passing by, could not awaken him, but carried him sleeping to the first house they came to, and set down his halbert and gun in the house beside him, there being some lambs in the house for speaning.* He slept there till it was well afternoon, and then he awakened, but knew not how he came there. He thought we were either all taken prisoners, or then killed. So he lay down to take the other nap, till there came a man to take out the lambs, who said, "Friend, you lie not well here, you would lie better amongst your neighbours!" He said, "Where are they?" So the man brought him to us. But he never knew who had carried him to the house, his sleep was so great. Then Polwart† said, after we had got some meat, "I know ye have all need of sleep, but of necessity four of you must watch, two at each barn-door, in case we be surprised by the enemy, to give warning to the rest. And the honest men will watch without, and give you notice if they see

* weaning. † Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart.

any hazard." I offered myself for one, and other three did the like. And he desired that within two hours we would awaken him, and he would cause relieve us, which accordingly was done. We lay there all that day very safely, and saw regiments passing by within two miles, but none came near us. So at night we took our march again, having sent before to provide quarters for us. So we got a guide, who conducted us safe to the place where we tarried next day, and sent some friends to inquire if they could get any account of the earl of Argyle, who would not come alongst with us over Clyde. In the evening they brought us word that he was taken prisoner.* Then Sir John † called us all together, and told

* The skirmish at Muirdyke took place on the 18th, and Argyle was taken on the same day. (Fountainhall, Decis. i. 364. Wodrow, ii. 537. Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, p. 63. Laing, ii. 153.) The earl was executed at Edinburgh on the 30th of June, on the old sentence pronounced against him for offering an explanation of the test. (Fountainhall, 366. Wodrow, 538—546. Lord Hailes's Catalogue of Lords of Session, Notes, p. 24.) It is rather surprising that Mr. Fox, in his reasoning respecting the intentions of the government to put the earl to torture, should not have adverted to a clause of a letter of Barillon, inserted by himself, which bears testimony to these intentions, and assigns the reason why they were not carried into effect. "Le Comte d'Argile a été exécuté à Edinbourg, et a laissé une ample confession par écrit, dans laquelle ille decouvre tous ceux qui l'on secouru d'argent, et qui ont aidé ses desseins: *cela lui a sauvé la question.*" (Fox's History, Append. p. cxiv.)

† Sir John Cochrane was apprehended in the end of June, in the house of his uncle Gavin Cochrane, near Kilbarchan, being

us, "That my lord was taken, and that we were now free from our oath, and every one of us might shift for himself the best way we could." So we had a lamentable parting. All this time, though we had been about five or six weeks in the kingdom, we had got no account of Monmouth.*

I came off with three other lads that came from London with me. When we four were parted a good way from Sir John and the rest, we began

discovered by Gavin's wife, out of revenge for the death of her brother, captain Cleland. (See before, p. 314.) "Sir John, his son, &c. was brought into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on the 3d of July, being ignominiously conducted thither, bound and bare-headed, by the hangman." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 366.) An account of his apprehension, somewhat different, and not very consistent with itself, is given in Fountainhall's Diary, lately published. Having mentioned the ignominious manner in which he was brought into Edinburgh, it concludes, "And yet Sir John came with a statelie unconcerned paw." (P. 57, 58.) He had been forfeited, on the 22d of May, 1685, for accession to the Rye-house plot, (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. pp. 32—43,) and was liable to be executed upon that sentence, but obtained a remission for life. Bishop Burnet says his father purchased his pardon for £5000 Sterling. (Own Times, iii. 24.) His estate, which had fallen to the crown, was on the 18th of May, 1686, given to his eldest son, William, who had married Lady Mary Bruce, daughter to the deceased Alexander, Earl of Kincardin. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 584, 645.)

* The Duke of Monmouth was taken on the 8th, and executed on the 15th of July, 1585. "I remember (says Dr. Wellwood) to have heard Rumbold say openly at his execution in Scotland, upon the account of Argyle's invasion, *That Monmouth had broke his word with them, in declaring himself king.*" It was Wellwood's opinion, that he was forced to take this step by the importunity of his friends. (Memoirs, p. 172, 173.)

to consult what to do; as for our arms, we would in no case part with them, thinking to defend ourselves as long as we could. So one gave one advice, and some another: our conclusion at length was, that we would march towards Annandale, for some of us had acquaintance there, and there we could inform ourselves what was become of Monmouth; and if he were prospering, we resolved (if possible) to go to him, for we knew that we were always unsafe in our own country. So we resolved to travel all night, and to dern* all day; and buy victuals as we went alongst, for as yet we wanted not money.

So we went on, and marched through a weary long moor, and then came to the plain ground, and had travelled a good way in the plain before it came to be very light. This was on the sabbath morning. When we began to see about us, we could not perceive either wood or moss to shelter in all day. Then we wist not what to do, the whole country being full of the king's forces, so that we were afraid of being apprehended. We resolved to venture on some house. We sent one of our number to a house hard by, to see if they would give us quarters, and desired him to tell them plainly what men we were, and that we were in hazard of our lives. We happened upon a very honest widow-woman's house,

* lie concealed.

who yet, upon no account, would give us quarters, taking us for dissemblers ; for she had some of Mr. Renny's * men hiding in her house, who were in as great hazard as we were in. But she let us see a house a little way off, who, she said, would shelter us, if we were such men as we gave ourselves out to be. So we came to that house, and sent one to call at the door, whereupon the goodman came out. Our case was made known to him. He said, " Gentlemen, ye need not think to deceive me, for ye are not such men as ye say ye are."† I stept near and said, " Friend, we truly came alongst with Argyle, and our lives are in hazard, and if ye refuse to shelter us, ye cannot be free of our blood, if we should fall into the enemy's hands." Whereupon the honest man condescends. So we went in, and though it was early in the morning, there was a brave fire burning on the hearth. We sat down and warmed ourselves. He presently caused his daughter

* Mr. Renwick was sometimes called Mr. Renny : See Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 473, 495.

† He had good reason to be suspicious. Cornet Peter Inglis, with some soldiers, came to the house of Thomas Richards, a respectable man, nearly eighty years old; and pretending that they were part of the remains of Argyle's troops, the old man told them that he had lately entertained some of their friends, and was still ready to do it. Inglis carried him off to colonel Douglas, then at Cumnock, " who, precisely upon this alleged confession, without jury or trial, next day executed him there." (Wodrow, ii. 509, 570.) Sergeant Nisbet gives an account of a device employed, in

bring plenty of meat to us. After we had breakfasted, he said, "Now, gentlemen, what shall I do with you next, for your enemies will be abroad presently, and will range up our house for provision?" He said, "I have an old torn house, where our sheep lie, I think they will not go near it, being ruinous; there are two steads lying on the balks of the house, I will cause my daughter carry up straw, and ye may lie there till night." Which, accordingly, we did, and slept there as sound as ever we did upon a feather bed. And at night one of those men that were hiding in the widow's house, came to the honest man, and asked, if there came four armed men there in the morning. He told him, there did. He asked, what men we were. He told him, we were very honest men. He desired to see us. He brought

1682, to discover his father's family when under concealment. "The enemy swore that if we were out of hell they should have some of us, and for that end they disguised one of themselves, a fair well-favoured young man, in women's clothes, like a gentlewoman; giving out that she was a cousin of our own, come from Ireland to invite us over there to our friends, because they had heard of our troubles in Scotland. This gained credit amongst our friends, who knew where we were." Having by this artifice got exact information of the hiding place, a party on horseback came ten miles to apprehend the family, but Mrs. Nisbet having discovered their approach, had sufficient time to remove herself and children into an inaccessible part of an adjacent morass, where her husband lay concealed. (MS. Memoir, pp. 21—23.) The employment of spies is mentioned in Wodrow, (ii. 287,) and in the Life of Captain Crighton. (Swift's Works, x. 142, 143.)

him to us. He was very glad when he saw us, and asked several questions at us, which we told him. He inquired, what we resolved to do. We said, we were resolved to go for Annandale, and to travel all night, and keep close all day. He said it was impossible for us to win * there, without being apprehended; for, he said, it was difficult for them to keep themselves out of the enemy's hands, though they knew the country better than we did. He advised us rather to stay with them, and assured us we should not want meat and drink, if we would take our hazard with them. And we complied with his advice.

Now, there were very many of the west-country men upon their hiding, who had met together to have joined us if we had prospered.† So we took

* get.

† "My brother, Daniel Ker, (says Ker of Kersland) after the death of my father at Utrecht, landing also in Scotland with the said Earl, repaired to the south-west, where the main body of the Cameronians were, and, at their request, taking the command upon him, he resolved to join Argyle as soon as possible; but some English men-of-war coming into our western seas cut off the communication, which obliged the Earl to march about by Glasgow, in order to join the Cameronians and his other friends in the west, who were all upon their march to meet him." (Kersland's Memoirs, p. 7.) The Cameronians generally were not disposed to join the standard of Argyle. "In April 1685, Mr. George Barclay and others came to the west of Scotland, in order to engage, preach up, and prepare a people to join Argyle, who came to Scotland about the middle of May thereafter with some men and many notable arms; which, when Mr. Renwick and the

our leave of our landlord, and went alongst with him. He carried us away to a great moss, where we were to stay next day, for several of them had trysted to meet there. And as we were going to the place, he was to call at a house by the way who was to bring provisions to us, and desired us to stand at the end of the house till he spoke with the folk within.

In the mean time, when we were standing, there came about twenty-four men, well armed, who were on their hiding also; and they came with the same resolution to desire these folk to bring provisions to them, in such a place as they were to lodge in the moss. Not knowing of us, they came close up to the place where we were standing. We hearing the noise of their feet a pretty while before they came up to us, one of our company said, "We are all taken! for there is a party of the enemy coming." So we had our arms ready to receive them, if they offered any violence. I looked betwixt me and the sky, and I perceived their arms, and saw that they had some sort of arms of their own making, which the forces used not. I said, "They are surely friends." The other said, "There could

general correspondents of the united societies saw, his manifesto made them to demur and hesitate to concur in that expedition, upon these grounds and reasons," &c. (Walker's Life of Peden, p. 91.)

not be so many friends together at such a time." So they came close up to us; and, when they perceived us, they presented their guns, and said, "What are you?" We said, "We are friends!" They said, "How shall we know that?" We said, John Ferguson * was with us; (this was the man that brought us along) thinking they might know him; which, accordingly, they did, when we called him. So we parted; for John Ferguson told them that he had bespoke the house to bring provisions to us and some others that were to meet with us in the moss. So they went to some other place for provisions.

We lay in the moss all that night and all next day; and then went, in the night time, to another place. We remained six weeks wandering up and down with them; whiles lying in the fields and sometimes in houses, and were hardly one night where we were the other. The country was exceeding kind to us, and would take nothing for our victuals.

There was one night that there were about a dozen of us who were invited by some friends to come to Kilmarnock privately, in the night time,

* John Ferguson, from Mains of Enterkin, in the parish of Tarbolton, appears in the Fugitive Roll. In the Scots Worthies he is called Fergushill. He was killed in November, this year, (1685) when John Nisbet of Hardhill was taken. (Wodrow, ii. 496. App. iii. Scots Worthies, 428. Serjeant Nisbet's Memoir, MS. p. 64.)

to stay there some days, and there were some ordained to wait upon us at the time appointed, a little space from the town, to convoy us in some secret way; but, behold, that evening some troops of horse had come to quarter there, so our friends sent to stop us by the way. Then we knew not what to do. We had travelled so far from the moors that we were afraid of being apprehended before we wan* there again, there being no friend's house near. Then they resolved to go to a man's house that was bein† enough, but no friend to them; only he had some honest servants, and they thought the man would not be ill-natured. There were several of the lads that were acquainted with him. So we sent one to call at the door, to see if they would harbour us, and were resolved to stay there by violence, if we could not prevail with fairness.

When the man came to the door, behold, it was not locked; he came again and told us; so we came in, and placed our arms beside us, and there was a fine gloss of fire on the hearth. We laid to some more peats, and kept very quiet. When the fire began to have some light, the goodman's brother, lying in the hall, looked over the bed, and began to bless himself, saying, "What's that there!" One of them named him, and said, "Be not afraid, it is kend folk." He asked, "who

* got. † wealthy.

we were. They told him some of their names that he knew. He said, what the devil had brought us there! We desired him to be quiet, for we should do them no wrong. He said, "Devil a one of you stays here!" Then he began to call aloud to his brother to rise and come to his assistance, for there were a great many of the mountain-men come there; upon which his brother rose in haste, and was as ill-natured as he. Then we four that were strangers took upon us to command. After no intreaties would prevail, we threatened to shoot the rascals dead, if we heard any more of their noise; and forthwith we locked the goodman up in a close room, and made him prisoner, and set down his brother amongst us, and commanded him to silence, and threatened, if we had any more of his disturbance, we would immediately knock him down; so after that we had great quietness.

In the morning, very early, the servant men came in, being ordered by their master the night before to go to carry carriage-coals for their laird. The two servants were well inclined; and after some time's converse with us they obtained leave to go. We made all the rest prisoners. In the morning, when the cattle and sheep were to go to their meat, the goodman and his brother began to desire liberty for the servants to take them out. We told them, we would be herds ourselves for that day. So two of our number took all

the cattle to their meat, and waited on them. Then the goodman and his brother began to use many intreaties to let them be set at liberty, and their life for it, they would do us no harm. At length we condescended, for that stead stood by itself a good way from any other, and we kept a watchful eye upon all that belonged to the house. The goodman, at length, began to be more friendly, telling us it was for fear of bringing hazard upon himself that made him so rude; and desired that we might go down to his barn, where was a great deal of straw, and take us rest, and he and his brother would watch; which accordingly we did, but kept always three sentries to oversee them, that none went to give warning to the enemy. At length our landlord caused make breakfast ready for us of very good victuals, and caused set them down in our sight that we might take them, that, if he were challenged, he could say, he gave us neither meat nor drink. We continued safe till night, and so parted.

When we had staid very long we began to think the country somewhat more quiet. We thought of venturing home to see our friends, whom we had not seen for two years and a half. Two of us went away first, and after that the other two ventured. My comrade and I kept our arms all alongst till we came to Calder Moor, and there left them with a friend that we were

recommended to; and so we came home; but were in as bad circumstances as we were in when we went off the country. For half-a-year we durst never travel safely but in the night; we thought we would be but a burden to our friends; we resolved to go for England again, where we were not so well known. So my friend, who had been with me in the most part of all my travels, who is living at the writing hereof, (and was the person I spoke of formerly, who was carried off the field into the house sleeping,) went away before me to Northumberland, and promised to write me if he got any settlement, which he did, accordingly, within a short time; he being settled in an honest family. He desired me to take my venture, for I knew not what providence might carve out for me.

So I went directly to him, and staid with him eight or ten days, till Mr. James Welch,* a minister of the gospel, my intimate friend, came there, who much bemoaned my wandering condition. He desired me to go alongst with him, for he was going the length of Alnwick, and was to stay some time up and down that country; for he was, as all our faithful ministers were, wandering up and down, preaching the gospel on peril of their lives. I went alongst with him, and he

* Mr. James Welsh, preacher in Kirkcudbrightshire, is in the Fugitive Roll of 1684. (Wodrow, ii. Appen. 115.)

made me acquainted with many godly families up and down that country. Upon a time he went to Berwick, and left me behind him till he returned; and being in company with justice Grieve's wife, she asked him, if he could wish her husband to an honest man to oversee his affairs, that he could put trust into. He said, "Madam, I am glad ye have made the proposal, for I know of a very trusty friend whom I can confidently recommend to you." So he sent for me to meet him at Tweedmouth, which I did. The justice and I agreed immediately, and I promised to enter home against Martinmas. I went to Edinburgh, and staid a little with my friends, and then entered home at the time appointed. I think that the Lord had wonderfully carved out that service for me, for I pleased my master very well, and he pleased me. My wages were not great, but only five pounds per year and my diet; but, indeed, I thought it a great matter at such a time. I staid with him very comfortably for the space of five years; and then came on the happy Revolution, so that such as were in my circumstances were at more liberty than formerly.

Then I thought it time for me to enter into a married life, being forty-two years old,* and de-

* From a calculation, founded on dates mentioned in the course of this Memoir, but which it is unnecessary to specify here, it results,

tained so long unmarried only on account of the troubles of the times. I told my master I resolved to leave him in order to marry. He was much concerned therewith, and requested me not to leave him; his wife also was very pressing with me to stay; but I could not, having engaged with a young woman in Scotland where we were to live. And as the Lord was pleased to guide me in every step of my life, so he was wonderfully kind to me in my marriage; for he trysted me with a godly wife, who was a true yoke-fellow indeed; and the most part of the time we lived together she made it her work to be making sure "the one thing needful." When we had lived one-and-twenty years comfortably together, her Master was pleased to call her home to himself; where, I hope, she is enjoying that which she much longed for.

She bare me nine pleasant children, four whereof I hope are in glory, and left five behind her, who (I bless the Lord!) are, as yet, very comfortable to me; and those of them that are come

that Brysson entered to his service in Northumberland, at Martinmas 1686. He left it in 1691, "being forty-two years old." Accordingly, he must have been born in or about the year 1649. His wife died in 1712. He was about 65 years of age in October 1714, when he subscribed his Memoirs; and about 72 in the year 1721, when he joined with some others in attesting an account of the behaviour of one George Lapsley before the Privy Council. (Wodrow MSS. in Advocates Library, No. 13. xxxiii. art. 59.) How long he lived after that time it does not appear.

to the years of discretion are beginning to look heavenward. And I dare promise them, in my dear Lord and Master's name, that if they keep his way, and have a tender respect to his glory, he shall take care of them, and guide them in every step of their life. And I hope, when they read over what wonderful care the Lord has taken of me, in all the various steps of his providence towards me in my pilgrimage, this will encourage them (or any of the Lord's people who shall have occasion to read these lines) to cleave unto so good a master. For within a little I must lay down this frail tabernacle, and I hope, ere it be long, I shall be where the weary are at rest. And O! that I may be made meet for that glorious inheritance, which my Lord hath provided for the saints in light.

As I have had some small fightings without, so I have not wanted my fears within; but (glory for ever be to him!) "there remains a rest for the people of God." O how sweet will it be to the poor tossed believer, when the remainders of corruption shall for ever be taken away, and he shall have all tears wiped from his eyes! I am persuaded there is not a complaint amongst all the redeemed company that are above. There are rivers of pleasures and joy for evermore, above in our Father's house, where we shall be made to drink of the pure river of life, that proceeds from beneath the throne of God, and we shall for ever

follow the Lamb, and shall have that new song begun which shall never end. If we knew aright what a place heaven is, we would be longing to be there. But, alas! we are so blinded with the fogs and mists of a present world, that we forget our Father's kingdom. Should we not remember with joy, that "Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what God has laid up in store for them that love him, and wait for his glorious appearance?" There needs none of Christ's soldiers fear or faint by the way; for he is the Captain of Salvation, and is "able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him." Now, I hope, that he who has been with me, and has helped me in some measure to keep his way, will be with me to the end, and will enable me to finish my course with joy. For he has made that promise of his good to me, which is in the 42d chapter of Isaiah and 16th verse, "I will bring the blind by a way they knew not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them, and not forsake them." And that in Isaiah, 35th chapter and 8th verse, "And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness: the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein."

For, indeed, if I had not had one to lead me in all the steps of my life, I would surely have miscarried; for I have been both blind and foolish. But blessed for ever be my guide, who hath followed me with mercy and loving-kindness all the days of my life! and I hope he will be with me to the end of my journey. He has helped me in some measure to give myself freely and fully to him, to be his for ever, and to take him to be my God and portion both in time and through eternity. And I hope that he will keep that which I have committed to him as unto a faithful Creator, against the day of his glorious appearance.

I desire, with the cloud of witnesses that have gone before me, to set to my seal that God is true. Alas! that I have been so little taken up in the study of the knowledge of this great Jehovah; for the more knowledge that any of his people have of him, they will love him the more. Alas! the blinded world knows him not, and therefore, they see no beauty in him, though he be the admiration of angels, and of all the glorious company that are above. O that I could commend him to all the world, for he is far above the commendation of men and angels! I desire to bless him. He has been good to me! his yoke is easy and his burden light!

I would advise my children, and all the Lord's people, to love him, and to appear for him, and

be always upon his side; for he sends none a warfare upon his own charges. And be careful to eye his providence, for there is great advantage in observing it. His providences have been wonderful in my day, for the bush has been burning all that time, and yet is not consumed. Wonderful was that cast of providence, when God sent that great instrument, King William, when his people's neck was upon the block, and the enemy ready to give the fatal blow! Our unthankfulness for such a mercy, and unfruitfulness under the gospel, did provoke the eyes of an infinitely holy God, to let loose our malicious enemies again. And they were contriving the utter overthrow of the people of God, both at home and abroad; and had brought their mischievous designs a very great length, so that their hopes were never greater. And it is known to the whole land what the fears of his people were. And in an instant our great Jehovah broke their designs, and made his people escape as a bird out of the fowler's snare. And we must say, that the Lord wrought for his own name's sake, for we deserved no such mercy at his hands. Therefore, it becomes all his people to observe this wonderful providence, and to exalt and praise his name for ever, for it is his own right hand that has brought us salvation, without making use of any instruments, and instead of a popish pretender has set a protestant king upon the

throne. We ought to tremble for fear of abusing such mercies. And it ought to be the prayer of all the godly in these lands, that our king may be made a blessed instrument in the Lord's hand for good to the churches of God, at home and abroad.

I have given as true an account of several passages of my life as my frail memory could contain; the which I give under my hand, at Edinburgh, the fourth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen years.

GEORGE BRYSSON.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING SUPPRESSED AT PENTLAND;

WRITTEN BY

COLONEL JAMES WALLACE:

WITH

NOTICES OF THE WRITER.

NOTICES

OF

COLONEL JAMES WALLACE.

COLONEL WALLACE is called "James Wallace of Achens," or "Auchanes," in the record of his trial after the battle of Pentland.* Auchans, the family seat of his ancestors, is situated within the parish of Dundonald, in Ayrshire. "Opposite to the village and castle, (of Dundonald) is a very beautiful bank of wood, upwards, in most places, of 100 feet in height, and extending near a mile to the north-west. In a grand curvature of this bank, and on a gentle eminence, stands the house of Auchans, for a long period the residence of the Wallaces of Dundonald.

* Wodrow, i. app. pp. 91, 93, 109.

About 1640 this estate came into the possession of Sir William Cochrane of Lowdon (Cowdon) knight, who was afterwards created earl of Dundonald. At the Auchans are the remains of a small orchard which was once in high reputation. The pear, known in Scotland by the name of Auchans, derived that name from this place.*"

The Wallaces of Dundonald were a branch of the ancient family of Craigie. William Wallace, second son of Hugh Wallace of Craigie, was, in 1525, tutor of Craigie; and in 1526, had a charter under the great seal of the lands of Dundonald. His oldest son, William, having succeeded to the estate of Craigie, his second son John, styled also of Inchgotry, got a charter of the lands of Dundonald in 1543, and married Lady Margaret Kennedy, relict of William, Lord Herries. John Wallace, grandson of William Wallace, tutor of Craigie, is the first who was styled of *Auchans* and Dundonald; and, as appears from charters granted in 1573 and 1574, he married Janet Stuart, daughter of Sir John Stuart of Minto. In 1599 John Wallace of Craigie obtained a charter of the lands of Dundonald.† Yet subsequently to that period we find John Wallace of Dundonald

* Statistical Account of Scotland, (Parish of Dundonald,) vol. vii. p. 620.

† Notes communicated by John Riddell, Esq.

mentioned in the records.* Whether the family retained their former style after the loss of their estate, or whether a part of the estate still remained in their possession, does not appear.

James Wallace, the writer of the following narrative, appears to have early adopted the military profession, and having distinguished himself in the parliamentary army during the civil war, was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.† He belonged to the Marquis of Argyle's regiment, which was sent to Ireland in 1642, and was recalled in 1645, to oppose the victorious progress of Montrose.‡ He was taken prisoner at the battle of Kilsyth.§ When Charles II. came to Scotland in 1650, the Parliament ordered two regiments of Life Guards to be embodied, one of horse and the other of foot, to be composed of "the choicest of the army, and fittest for that

* "*May* 5, 1601.—Joannes Wallace, senior, de Dundonald haeres masculus tallie et provisionis Roberti Wallace de Collane." (Inq. Retorn. Perth, 73.) In 1640 the lands of Dundonald became the property of Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon. (Act. Parl. Scot. v. 656: comp. v. 28.) The lands of Auchans and Dundonald were acquired from the Earl of Dundonald in 1724, by Robert Wallace of Holmston, W. S. who sold them in 1726 to the Earl of Eglinton.

† Burnet's Own Times, i. 341. Edin. 1753.

‡ Carte's Ormond, i. 310. Baillie's Letters, ii. 274.

§ "Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace" is mentioned among the prisoners. (Monteith's Hist. of the Troubles, 218.) He is called "Colonel Wallace" in the Memoirs of Montrose, p. 171. Edin. 1819.

trust." Lord Lorn was appointed Colonel, and Wallace Lieutenant-Colonel, of the foot regiment of guards.* Wallace was present at the battle of Dunbar, so disastrous to the Scots, and was taken prisoner on that occasion.† In a petition read in Parliament on the 30th of December that year, Lord Lorn says, "In respect my Lieutenant-Colonel has, in God's good providence, returned to his charge, whose fidelity in this cause is well known both in Ireland and in this kingdom, and that his losses are very many and great, I do humbly desire that your Majesty, and this high Court of Parliament, may be pleased in a particular manner to take notice of him, that he may not only have a company appointed him, but likewise something may

* Sir James Balfour's Annals, iv. 84, 85. Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 568.—"At his Majesty's command, Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon King at Arms, set down the devices upon the ensigns and colours of his Majesty's foot regiment of Life Guards. Those of the Lieutenant-Colonel were azure, an unicorn, arg.; and on the other side "in grate gold letters," these words, "Covenant for Religione, King, and Kingdomes."—(Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 85.)—When Wallace afterwards appeared at Pentland, it could scarcely be said that he deserted his standard, or changed his *device*.

† Among the prisoners mentioned in Cromwell's despatch are, "Lieutenant-General Sir James Lomsden—Lieutenant-Colonel Wallis—Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Forbis," &c.—(Letter from the Lord General Cromwell to the Parliament of England, concerning his proceedings with their army in Scotland, and the late victory God hath given them over the Scottish army there. Printed at Corcke, in the yeare of our Lord God 1650.)

be done for his satisfaction of his former losses." Upon this petition the committee of bills reported "that Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace may be referred to the Committee of Estates, that he may be assigned to some part of the excise, or maintenance, forth of the shire of Ayr, or any other of the shires in the south;" and the house referred the petition, and the several members thereof, to the consideration of the Committee of Estates, "that such course may be taken thereanent as they shall think fitting."*

It is probable that he lived retired after the Restoration, until the year 1666, when his attachment to the Presbyterian religion, and the liberties of his country, induced him to take part with those who had recourse to arms in defence of that cause. On joining them he was unanimously chosen as the person best qualified to take the command, although his modesty has made him pass over this circumstance in his narrative.†

In the appearance which he made at this time, and in accepting the dangerous post to which he was chosen, Wallace could be actuated only by

* Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 568. On the 10th of June 1651, the committee recommend that certain sums be given "from the contributions through the country," to Colonel William Lumsden, and some other officers taken at Dunbar, "on account of their sufferings and deservings." But Wallace is not among them.—(MS. Register of the Committee of Estates, January—March, 1651, p. 54.)

† Kirkton, 236. Wodrow, i. 247; app. p. 107.

the most disinterested motives. He had no private quarrel to revenge; he had given no personal offence to the government; and, as he was not involved in the circumstances which led to the first rising, he had no cause to be alarmed for his own safety. The prospects, when he first engaged in the design, were far from being flattering, especially to one of his knowledge and experience in military affairs, and he had it in his power to retire, as others did, after he reached the west, and saw the real state of those who were in arms. Nor was his conduct, during the short time that he commanded, discreditable to his military talents; especially when we take into consideration the small number of men which he had under him, the miserable manner in which the most of them were equipped, and the want of inferior officers to conduct them. "Wallace himself was a gentleman godly and resolute; but such an undertaking was for a man of miracles."* By the line of march which he chose, he gave an opportunity to the friends of the cause, in the most populous counties, if they had been disposed, to join its standard. He prevented General Dalziel from obtaining that advantage which he sought, for attacking him during his march.† If the government had been disposed to suppress

* Kirkton, 245.

† Council's letter, apud Wodrow, i. 247.

the insurrection without bloodshed, he gave them an opportunity of accomplishing this by the moderate letter which he sent to the General of the royal forces. The ground which he chose on Rullion Green, and the disposition which he made of his men, was the very best, when he had to oppose an enemy three times the number of his own troops. By fighting at the time he did, instead of delaying, as he knew he could easily do, he provided for the better escape of his men, in the event of their being worsted; and, indeed, the loss actually sustained was less than it would in all probability have been, if, without engaging, he had disbanded his army during the night. The battle of Pentland-hills was a well-fought field, not a disgraceful rout, like that which afterwards happened, under a very different leader, at Bothwell-bridge.

On the loss of the battle, Colonel Wallace left the field in company with Mr. John Welsh, and taking a north-westerly direction along the hills, escaped the pursuit of the enemy. After riding to a sufficient distance, they turned their horses adrift, and slept during the remainder of the night in a barn. Having concealed himself for some time, Wallace at last got safely out of the kingdom.* The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November, and on the 4th of December, the Privy Council issued a proclamation

* Kirkton, 244, 245. Wodrow, i. 252.

prohibiting all persons from harbouring or corresponding with Colonel Wallace, or any of those who had been in arms with him, under the pain of being treated as accessory to the late rebellion. And, on the 15th of August, Wallace, and six others who had absconded, were found guilty and condemned to be executed as traitors, when they shall be apprehended, and all their lands and goods to be forfeited to his Majesty's use. * This sentence was ratified by Parliament in 1669,† and was rescinded at the Revolution.‡

For several years Colonel Wallace was obliged to wander from one part of the continent to another for the sake of security. For the same reason he assumed the name of Forbes.§ In the year 1670 he was on the borders of Germany.‖ When he thought the search after him had relaxed, he took up his residence at Rotterdam; but he was not allowed to remain there undisturbed. On the 27th of June 1676, Charles II. wrote to

* Wodrow, i. app. book ii. Nos. 8 and 15.

† Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 562. See before, p. 97.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 165.

§ Wodrow, i. 434. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr. Macward, August 16, 1675, says "I salute worthie Mr. Forbese." And in another letter to the same,—February 16, 1676, he says, "I kindly salute—Mr. Forbese." (Wodrow MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. lix, art. 36 and 47.)

‖ "Where did ye see James Wallace last?" *Ans.* "Towards the borders of Germany some years ago." (Examination of Mr. James Mitchel before the Commissioner and Council, February 1674, in Naphtali, p. 374. Edin. 1761.)

the States General, requiring them, agreeably to an article in a treaty between the two countries, to cause Wallace, with Mr. Robert Macward and Mr. John Brown, ministers, to remove from their territories, as persons guilty of lese-majesty against the King of Great Britain.* Mr. Brown, in a paper of information which he gave in to the States General, after referring to the refusal of the States to comply with a similar demand in 1670,† mentions that the present application had been instigated by one Henry Wilkie, whom the king had placed at the head of the Scottish factory at Campvere, who was displeased because many of his countrymen, with the view of enjoying the ministry of Messrs. Macward and Brown, had repaired to Rotterdam, and brought their shipping there in preference to Campvere, by which means his salary was impaired. Mr. Brown denies, that either he or his colleague was ever convicted of treason, and begges the States to require, from Sir William Temple, the English ambassador, a copy of the sentence pronounced against them; as this would show that the article in the treaty did not apply to them, and might be the means also of freeing Wallace from a prosecution, which had commenced principally on their account. "But (continues

* Macward MSS. in Advocates Library: Jac. V. i. 10, no. 72.

† This demand related to Messrs. Robert Trail, elder, John Neave, and Robert Macward. (Ibid. no. 70: comp. Sir William Temple's Letters, ii. 226, 235, 237.)

he) it may be hinted to Sir William Temple, that James Forbes, *alias* Wallace, is a brave and skilful soldier, and may create more trouble to the King at home in Scotland, if he be forced to remove hence, than he can do by remaining here in the Netherlands, and discharging the office of an elder in the Scottish church at Rotterdam."* The States General were satisfied that they were not bound by the treaty to remove the ministers; and they instructed Lord Beuningen, their ambassador at the court of England, to represent to his Majesty, that they hoped he would not require them to put away persons who had complied with the sentence of banishment pronounced against them; and to wave, in the best and discreetest manner, the forementioned matter, as being in the highest degree prejudicial to their country. † But instead of the affair being dropped, other letters were sent from England repeating the demand in stronger language, and Sir William Temple left Nimeguen, where he was employed in the negociations for a peace then going on, and came to the Hague, for the express purpose of urging a categorical and speedy answer.‡ Upon

* Informatio de statu et conditione Joannis Brown: MSS. *ut supra,* no. 64.

† Extract from the Register of States General, apud Wodrow, i. 434, 435.

‡ MSS. *ut supra,* nos. 75 and 77. Besides the above-mentioned affair, it was one object of the ambassador's visit to the Hague to have a private interview with the Prince of Orange, and to obtain a

this the States General, to prevent a quarrel with Great Britain, judged it prudent to yield; but they failed not to represent their sense of the injustice of the claim made upon them. In their letter of the 22d of January 1677, they say:—

"We are willing to testify how sensible we are of the honour of your friendship and good will, and that we prefer it to all other considerations, assuring your Majesty that we will not fail to cause the said Macward, Brown, and Wallis, to depart, within the time mentioned in the treaties, from the bounds of this country. We find ourselves, however, obliged to represent to your Majesty, that we believe you will agree with us that the obligation of the treaties is reciprocal; and that, according to the laws of this country, we cannot by our letters declare any person fugitive or a rebel, unless he has been recognised as such by a sentence or judgment of the ordinary criminal court of justice, and that your Majesty could not pay any regard to any letters of ours making a similar declaration, unless accompanied by such sentence or judgment. And as thus we cannot require of your Majesty to remove any one from your kingdoms as a rebel or fugitive on a simple declaration made by our letters, so we assure our-

pledge from him that he was friendly to a general peace, and averse to the Dutch concluding a separate treaty with France. (Sir William Temple's Letters, vol. iii. pp. 258, 278.)

selves, Sir, that your Majesty will not in future require us by simple letters to remove any person from our territories, before he be declared a fugitive or rebel, according to the ordinary forms of the laws and customs of your Majesty."*

The following is the resolution to which the States General came, as translated from an authenticated copy of the original in Dutch. " By the resumpt delivered on the report of M.M. van Heuckelom and others, their High Mightinesses' commissioners for foreign affairs, having, in compliance with, and for giving effect to that Resolution Commissorial of the 16th instant, examined and discussed the memorial of Sir Temple, baronet, envoy extraordinary of his Majesty the king of Great Britain, requesting their High M. would be pleased to ordain their said commissioners to enter into a conference with him; as also a missive of the king of Great Britain, dated at Whitehall the 29th of December last, *stilo Angliae*, respecting his Majesty's former letters of the 27th June and 18th of November before, concerning three Scotsmen, James Walles, Robert Macward, and John Brown; and having conferred with the said Amb. Ext., Temple, regarding the contents of it, and having also seen the *retroacta*, and exhibited and heard read a draught of a missive, drawn out

* Au Roy de la Grande Bretagne. MSS. *ut supra*, no. 78.

and committed to paper by the commissioners of their H. M. for an answer to the missives of his Majesty of Great Britain of the 27th of June, 18th November, and 29th December last, respecting the foresaid Scotsmen: It is found good hereby to declare, that although the foresaid three Scotsmen—have not only not behaved and comported themselves otherwise than as became good and faithful citizens of these states, but have also given many indubitable proofs of their zeal and affection for the advancement of the truth, which their H. M. have seen with pleasure, and could have wished that they could have continued to live here in peace and security;—considering the risk they run, however, and considering with what pressing earnestness his Majesty has repeatedly insisted, by three several missives, and verbally through his envoy extraordinary, and with great reason apprehending a breach between his M. and these States, as Sir Temple has expressed himself on the subject in terms that cannot be mistaken, they feel themselves necessitated, in order to obviate so great an evil at this conjuncture, to cause the foresaid three Scotsmen—withdraw from this country; and that consequently notice shall be given to the foresaid James Walles, Robert Macward, and John Brown, in order that they may be able to avail themselves of the good intentions of their H. M. in having their property properly dispos-

ed of before the 5th of March next;—and for this end, an extract of this resolution of their H. M. shall be sent to the counsellours of the States of Holland and Westfriesland, in order that due notification may be given, and the foresaid James Walles, &c. may regulate their proceedings accordingly. They shall also find enclosed, for their behoof, separate instruments *ad omnes populos*, word for word with the following, which shall be sent to the foresaid commissioners of the Council of the H. and M. the States of Holland, to be put into the hands of the foresaid James Walles," &c. The instrument or testimonial referred to in the preceding decree runs in the following terms:—" The States General of the United Netherlands, to all and every one who shall see or read these presents, health. Be it known and certified that James Wallace, gentleman, our subject, and for many years inhabitant of this state, lived among us highly esteemed for his probity, submission to the laws, and integrity of manners. And therefore we have resolved affectionately to request, and hereby do most earnestly request, the Emperor of the Romans, and all Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, States, Magistrates, or whomsoever else our friends, and all that shall see these presents, that they receive the said James Wallace in a friendly manner, whensoever he may come to them or resolve to remain with them, and assist him with their council,

help, and aid; testifying that for any obliging, humane, or kindly offices done to him, we shall be ready and forward to return the favour to them and their subjects whensoever an opportunity offers. For the greater confirmation whereof, we have caused these presents to be sealed with our seal of office, and signed by the president of our assembly, and have ordered them to be countersigned by our first secretary, in our assembly, the sixth day of the month of February, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and seventy-seven." *

With what reluctance the States took this step appears from the report which Sir William Temple made to his court. "The business of the three Scotch ministers† (says he) hath been the hardest piece of negociation that I ever yet entered upon here, both from the particular interests of the towns and provinces of Holland, and the general esteem they have of Mackaird being a very quiet and pious man; but chiefly from the firm persuasion they have of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his Majesty, without any sentence

* Extract uijt het Register der Resolutien vande Ho. Mo. heeren Staten Generaal der Vereenighde Nederlanden. Sabbathi den 6. Februarii 1677. (Signed) J. De Mauregnault, Rt. (and below) H. Fagel.—(MSS. *ut supra*, no. 81.)

† Wallace is here spoken of as a minister, though it is evident from the correspondence, that both parties were quite aware of his real profession.

having passed against them, by which they are adjudged rebels and fugitives. And, on the contrary, after a sentence of banishment against Mackaird and Brown, which, they say, is by all writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their subjection, and consequently his Majesty's right of declaring them rebels after they are banished and become subjects to another state. But I found the king's honour so far engaged in this matter, by three several letters which must have been public, that I have left no sort of arguments unessayed with the prince, the pensioner, and deputies both of the provinces and towns, to procure his Majesty's satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to despatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of Holland these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other business but the levies of monies necessary for the campaign."*

Mr. Brown was allowed to remain in the country, on the attestation of a physician that his health would be endangered by his removal.†

* Sir William Temple's Letters, vol. iii. pp. 291, 292: comp. 248, 268, 311.

† MSS. *ut supra*, art. 65, 83.—Mr. John Brown, in his Testament, April 2, 1676, bequeathed 100 guineas to the poor of the Scots congregation. In a codicil dated 11th September, the same year, he appointed the above sum to be put into the hands of *Mr. Wallace*, to

It is not improbable that Mr. Macward also remained, in the way of keeping himself concealed for a short time; but Wallace was obliged to remove, and took up his residence either on the borders of France, or of the Spanish Netherlands. During this seclusion he addressed the following pious and well-written letter to "the Lady Caldwell."

"Elect Lady, and my worthie and dear Sister,

"Your's is come to my hand in most acceptable tyme. It seems that all that devils or men these many years have done (and that has not been lytle) against yow, to dant your courage, or to make yow in the avoweing of your master and his persecuted interests to loore your sailes, hes prevailed so lytle, that your fayth and courage is upon the groweing hand, ane evidence indeed as to your persecuters of perdition, bot to yow of salvation and that of God. It seems when you at first by choyce tooke Christ by the hand to be your Lord and portion, that yow wist what yow did; and that, notwithstandeing of all the hardnesses yow have met with in bydeing by him,

be given out by him to such as he knoweth indigent and honest.—"For a toaken to Mr. Macward, I leave the Complutensian Bible, six volumes, and the half of the remanent gold which I have, —— *the other half to Mr. Wallace.*"—Mr. Brown, having survived Colonel Wallace, has drawn his pen through the words in Italics. (Macward MSS. Jac. V. i. 10, art. 90.)

your heart seems to cleave the faster to him. This sayes yow have been admitted unto much of his company and fellowship. My sowle blesses God on your behalf, who hath so caryed to yow that I think yow may take those words amongst others spoken to yow, 'Yow have continued with me in my aflictions: I apoynt unto yow a kingdom.' It seems suffering for Christ, loseing any thing for him, is to yow your glory, is to yow your gayn. More and more of this spirit maye yow enjoye, that yow may be among the few (as it was said of Caleb and Joshua) that follow him fullie, among the overcomers, those noble overcomers mentioned, Revel. ii. and iii. among those to whom only (as pickt out and chosen for that end) he is sayeing, 'Yow are my witnesses.' Lady, and my dear sister, I am of your judgement; and I blesse his name that ever he counted me worthie to appear in that roll. It is now a good many years since the master was pleased to even me to this, and to call me forth to appear for him; and it is trew those fortie years bygone, (as to what I have mett with from the world) I have been as the people in the wildernes; yet I maye saye it, to this howre, I never repented my ingadgments to him, or any of my owneings of him; yea these rebutes, to say so, I gott from men wer to me my joye and crowne, because I know it was for his sake I was so dealt with; and this, it being for his sake, I was ready in

that case (as Christ sayes) when men had taken me upon the one cheek, for his sake, to turn to them the other. Never was I admitted to more neernes, never was my table better covered, than since I left Rotterdam. Let us take courage, and goe on as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, endureing hardnes. O for more fayth! O for more fayth among his people! As to this people, there is nothing to be seen in their waye that is promiseing of any good; bot, on the contrar, O! I feare the Lord hes given them up unto their owne hearts' lusts. They doe indeed walke in their owne counsels. That same spirit of persecution, and these same principles, that are among yow are heir; bot as God is faythfull, they shall be all brocken to pieces, and turned backe with shame, that hate Zion. Wayt but a lytle; they are diggeing the pit for themselves. The Lord hath founded Zion, and the poore of the people shall trust in it. Let us mynd one another. My love to all friends whom you knowe I love in the Lord. God's grace be with yow, and his blessing upon your lytle ones, whom he hath been a father to. In him I rest,

Your's as formerly,

JA. WALLACE."*

* This letter is addressed on the back, "For the Lady Caldwell, at Glasgow." (MSS. in Advocates Library, Jac. V. 2, 26, art. 19.)

The good lady to whom this letter was addressed was the widow of William Mure of Caldwell, * an intimate friend of Wallace, and a defender of the same cause, who died at Rotterdam on the 9th of February 1670. A collection of his dying sayings has been preserved by

* William Mure of Caldwell succeeded his brother James in 1654, and married Barbara, daughter of Sir William Cunninghame of Cunninghamhead. (Inq. Retor. Renfrew, 144. Crawford's Renfrew, 307.) In 1666 he came out at the head of a company with the intention of joining Colonel Wallace, but was unable to effect his purpose, as will be found stated in the subsequent Narrative. Having made his escape into Holland, he was forfeited in absence, and his estate given to General Dalziel. (Wodrow, i. app. nos. xvi. xviii.) An inquest *de possess. quinq.* of the lands of Caldwall was granted in favour of Dalziel, September 3, 1675. (Decret. Conc. Secr. comp. Inq. de Poss. Quinq. no. 4.) Mrs. Mure having neglected to take infeftment before the forfeiture, was deprived of the liferent provided for her by her marriage-settlement; in consequence of which, she was reduced to the necessity of supporting herself with the labour of her own hands. Having returned to Scotland after her husband's death, she was imprisoned, along with one of her daughters, on suspicion of having had a conventicle in her house, and treated with great inhumanity. (Wodrow, ii. 285, 286.)

John Caldwell of Caldwell appeared along with Mure, and shared the same fate. In the indictment he is styled John Caldwell of Caldwell, younger; and, by the witnesses, Goodman of Caldwell, younger. (Wodrow, i. app. 109, 110.) His father was the representative of an ancient but decayed family, and he himself appears to have been the last of the line. (Crawford's Renfrew, 44. Wodrow, i. 268; ii. 423, 424, 478: comp. Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 317.)

one of his friends, who apologizes for not having done justice to the speaker, by setting his words down with "that order, liveliness, and elegance of phrase wherein he had a peculiar happiness." Referring to the cause of his banishment, he said, "I am in perfect peace and quiet of mind. There is no inconsistency between obeying of God and man. Help, O Lord! we can have no liberty but what is clogged (as we apprehend) with great slavery. If we cannot get living in the world like men, let us be helped to die like men, in the avowing of the truth of our God. I desired help and liberty to the kingdom, that subjects might have leave to live without the daily hazard of their lives. I desired ever to be on truth's side. It is very sad that the rule of conscience should be the will of men. We refer, O Lord, the pleading of our right to thee. If we, or other poor people, that own a principle of subjection to magistrates according to truth, and binding to obedience in all things that can be called for from us in the Lord, have committed any wrong, or given such ground of offence that thereby the authority of magistrates seems to be much demolished and blasted, we seek pardon; if, I say, we have given any such ground of offence, whereof we are not yet convinced, though we do confess we be much unfitted many times to express the truth of matters, so as might take off the mu-

tual jealousies that are crept in upon the spirits of all flesh."*

Colonel Wallace ventured back to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678, "lamented of all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance, who were many;" and, in particular, the members of the congregation of which he was a ruling elder, bemoaned "his death, and their loss, as of a father." To the last he testified his attachment to the public cause which he had owned, and his satisfaction in reflecting on what he had hazarded and suffered in its defence.† He left behind him a son; and it appears that the sentence of forfeiture against him had not been carried into execution during his life-time.‡

* Account of the dying expressions of the Laird of Caldwell: MSS. *ut supra*, art. 23.

† See Macward's letter to Blackadder, December $\frac{5}{15}$, 1678, giving an account of Wallace's death, in the Appendix.

‡ "Anent a petition presented by Sir William Ker, dereeter of his Majesties chancellarie, shewing that the petitioner being ingadged as cautioner for the deceast Earle of Louthane, his father, for severale debts and soumes of money, and particularly for the soume of four thousand merks and annualrents due to Wallace, sone to Collonel Wallace who commanded at Pentland, 1664; and albiet that there was a proces of forfaulture intented before the justice court against him for his accession to the said rebellion, yet the samen having lyen so long over, he hath now made a conveyance of the foresaid soume to some confident for his own behoofe, who threatens to imprison and apprehend the pe-

It has been asserted by some writers that the rising suppressed at Pentland was premeditated, and the result of a plan concerted with the Whigs of England and the Republicans of Holland. That the people, goaded by oppression, had talked among themselves of resisting the impositions and pillages to which they were exposed, it is natural to suppose; and it appears also, that some of the better classes had held consultations on the propriety or practicability of redressing the wrongs of their injured country. It has been mentioned in a preceding part of this work, that a plan was formed, in July 1666, for seizing on the principal forts in the kingdom, but that the plot had miscarried.* By subsequent in-

titioner, unles he make present payment of the foresaid soumes, thinking thereby to frustrat his Majestie and his donator of any benefite they may have by the said forfaulture; and which, with their joyneing with other small creditors of the petitioners, does incapacitat the petitioner from attending his office; and therefor humbly supplicateing that the council would appoint the advocat to insist in the forsaid process of forfaulture; and in the mean time, to grant to the petitioner the councills protection for such a considerable time as the councill shall think fitt. The Lords of his Majesties privy [council] haveing heard and considered the foresaid petition, doe hereby grant licence to the petitioner to goe about his affaires untill the first day of November next, discharging messengers at armes, officers within burghs, and others, to put any letters of caption, or acts of warding, in execution against the petitioner, for any civill cause or debt during the said space, but prejudice of execution for his Majesties dues, or upon bonds granted for the same." (Decret. Secret. Concil. Sept. 3, 1680.)

* See before, p. 36, note.

quiries I have ascertained that the persons embarked in this scheme had carried on a correspondence with the government of the United Provinces, then at war with Great Britain, and received promises of assistance from that quarter. This appears from the following extract from the register of the secret resolutions of the States General, dated July 15, 1666. "It was notified in the assembly, that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, who had resolved, without delay, to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from constraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and do their utmost to get possession of some one or more towns or fortresses lying in the foresaid King of Great Britain's dominions. Their High Mightinesses therefore feel themselves here called upon to give assurance, that how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and munition of war expedited to such town." Among the articles to be sent are the following: For the foot, 3000 muskets, 1000 match-locks, 1500 pikes, with side-arms for the musketeers and pike-men, and 10 brass field-pieces: For the cavalry, 2000 brace of pistols, all with snaplocks, and 1000 horsemen's carabines. Besides the supplies in arms and ammunition, a subsidy of 150,000 *gulden* was pro-

mised. The extract is signed by the president, Van Vrijberg; and the pensionary, De Witt, intimates formally, that "no time shall be lost in getting every thing ready in conformity with the resolution of the States General, when wanted."* There are letters from Macward to Brown, written, as late as September and October that year, in a concealed style, but evidently referring to the above-mentioned transaction.† They speak of a Mr. Wallace; but as the other names are obviously fictitious, this affords no ground for supposing that the colonel was the person referred to. Who were the leading men in Scotland, in whose names this correspondence with Holland was carried on, or by what means they expected to get possession of the forts alluded to, I have not been able to discover.

It does not seem, however, that there was any connexion between that plot and the rising in Galloway, which appears to have originated solely in the accidental scuffle between a small party of soldiers and some countrymen, to which it has been usually ascribed. The privy council were unable, by all their inquiries, aided by the utmost severities of the torture, to elicit or extort the slightest evidence of previous concert among those who

* Extract uit het Register der Secrete Resolutien van Ho. en Mo. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden.—(Macward Papers. Jac. V. i. 10, art. 42.)

† Ibid. Jac. V. i. 11, art. 8 and 9.

betook themselves to arms, or of any correspondence between them and foreigners; and being at last convinced that the insurrection was unconcerted, they resolved on abandoning, or at least mitigating, that system of arbitrary and intolerable oppression, which had driven the people to extremities. Bishop Burnet represents "some fiery ministers," whom he names as the "chief incendiaries."* The following statement by one of those whom he accuses, which bears internal marks of candour, goes to show that the ministers, instead of inflaming, endeavoured to restrain the spirit of the people. It will serve also as a proper introduction to the subsequent Narrative, by supplying a new and summary account of what took place in Galloway and at Dumfries, before colonel Wallace joined the party.

"The soldiers drove the ministers out of Galloway and Niddisdale, where the meetings were most frequent. So, many of them came privately to Edinburgh and lurked there, and preached more privately. At which time soldiers did sadly distress the country, where the meetings had been, and those that went not to church, by fining, imprisoning, driving of their cattle, which did much exasperate the people; so that some of them were busy to traffic through their own

* History of his Own Times, i. 341.

country, and the west, and other places, for some appearance for their own relief and deliverance from the persecution. Several, both gentlemen and others, did regret the same; and after going to and from for advice and assistance, and consulting about the same, and seeking the Lord therein, some were for appearing in an hostile way, and some not; and so it was put off from one time to another. At last I was advised by some friends to go privately into Galloway or the borders of it, to be informed of their case and what they designed to do, and to report at Edinburgh. I went accordingly, and met with several of their leading men, who were longing for an opportunity of appearing together for their defence. I told them, it was not rashly to be done, but well advised with others in other places. So we sent to the west and elsewhere for counsel in the matter, and to come back within ten days. In the mean time excellent Monrieff, a laird in Galloway, the greatest Christian that I knew in his station, going to Edinburgh, came to me where I was privately. I desired him to tarry for the next meeting, and told him when and where it was, which he did. So we, going to the place of meeting at the time appointed, and being met together, they told us, that Barscobe and some others of the people were fallen foul with some of the soldiers quartered in the country, and had hurt some and secured se-

veral of them; the report of which going to other places of the country, the people did the like with their soldiers. The first occasion of this outfall as I learned was, that they were offering to torture at the fire some honest men that did not comply with them; and Barscobe said soberly to them, 'Why do you use the honest man so?' and looked about a little. Whereupon some of the soldiers offered to them violence. Upon which a woman cried to Barscobe, 'Turn, what are you doing?' And when he looked and saw what they were doing against them, he drew a pistol, wherein there was only tobacco-stapples, and shot at one of them; at which the soldier fell, but I do not remember that he was killed. So it began, and they secured the rest there and elsewhere. Monrieff and I were grieved with this accident, and knew not what advice to give them in the case. Some knew not what to say, but the most forward said, there had been talking enough upon that affair, that it was fit to take that opportunity to appear, which if they did not, Sir James Turner, that was at Dumfries, would come with all his men and destroy the country; and that it was best to prevent that by marching to Dumfries and securing of him. I was truly Laban in the case; but I told, if they were so resolved, I should go straight to the west to acquaint friends there; which I did, riding all night to get soon there. So they went for Dum-

fries, and chused one Mr. Gray for their head, and they came and took Sir James Turner prisoner, and set him on a low beast, without his best raiment, and carried him through the town in a despicable manner, where the providence of God was to be seen of that sudden change. There he had been reigning like a king, and lifted up in pride, with insolency and cruelty over the poor people, and so they carried him alongst with them to the west. He told them, if that rising was general they would carry it; if it were but in that corner, they could not do it. The old Register, Primrose, (I heard,) said, that the party that had been so favourable to spare Sir James Turner, would not do the business: they had not a spirit. And a worthy knowing minister spoke to the same purpose to me after the defeat. I replied to him, they had a spirit for that for which they were raised up, to give an innocent testimony for the Lord and his oppressed work and people, which had not been given before; neither did the king and the court know the case of the country, and the temper of the people. For they were made to believe, that if a few gentlemen were kept in security, and a few ministers, he would have perfect peace. So that appearance, with the meetings that followed, occasioned the relaxation and liberty which was given by the Indulgence. This was observable of that rising, that several of those who did en-

courage it in discoursing, and seemed to be frank for it, yet drew back when it came to be made effectual. And if those gentlemen and ministers in the west had risen, when they were there that came from Galloway, it might have done the business; for to speak *humanitus*, after the manner of men, five hundred more men might have obtained a victory; there was such a general dissatisfaction with the alteration of the church-government, and the persecution it occasioned. They had many thousand well-wishers at Pentland, that, if they had thought they could have carried with their assistance, would have been there; and so the Commissioner then observed, that, if they had prevailed but a little, they would have got many thousands to join with them. Yea, a great man (I heard) said to that purpose, who proved a great adversary afterward when he became greater."*

* Life of Gabriel Sempil, written by himself, MS. pp. 38—43. Mr. Gabriel Sempil was the second son of Bryce Sempil of Cathcart, and brother of Sir William Sempil. (Douglas, Bar. p. 468.) Both his father and brother were great loyalists, and the latter was with Montrose at Philiphaugh. "Within a short time after, he fell in a great consumption, whereof he died; but before his death he took a great remorse for his malignancy and following that way, and testified the same to all his acquaintances that came to visit him in his sickness." Mr. Gabriel Sempil was minister at Kirkpatrick-Durham in Galloway at the Restoration, and after the Revolution at Jedburgh. He married, 1st, Alison, daughter of Sir Walter Riddell of that ilk; and, 2dly, Margaret, daughter

One reason why the insurgents were not more numerous was, that the government had previously imprisoned on suspicion the principal gentlemen, especially in the western shires, who were known to be warm friends to presbytery, and even some individuals of a different description, who happened to be dissatisfied with the measures of the administration. Among these were Major-General Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglinton; Sir Hew Campbell of Cesnock; Major-General Holborn of Menstrie; Colonel Robert Halket, brother to Sir James Halket of Pitferran; Sir John Cheisly of Carswell; Sir James Stewart, late Provost of Edinburgh; James Dunlop of that ilk; William Ralston of that ilk; and Sir George Monro, "who had taken both the oath of supremacy and declaration."* To these may be added the persons mentioned in the following extract, from a paper

of Sir Robert Car of Etal, in Northumberland. His death happened on the 8th of August 1706, in the 75th year of his age.—(Life of Mr. Gabriel Sempil, MS.)—Sir Robert Carr of Etal is the gentleman mentioned by Mr. Veitch, under the name of "Ittall."—(See before, p. 130.)—The Earl of Errol is now the representative of that family.—(Douglas, Peerage, i. 554, 556.)

* Account of Affairs in Scotland, from 1659 to 1675. MS. in the Library of the College of Edinburgh, p. 185. Wodrow, i. 224.

which appears to have been drawn up by Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead.

" In the foresaid year 1666 no less was the illegal procedure against several honourable gentlemen, taken up at their own houses, where they were living peaceably, by parties of soldiers haling them to prisons as malefactors: such as were the late Sir William Cunninghame of Cuninghame-head, father to the present Sir William; the late Mr. George Maxwell, father to the present Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice; and the late Sir William Muire of Rowallane, grandfather to the present Countess of Glasgow, and several others.—Though never any accusation was brought against them, yet Cunninghamehead, Pollock, and Rowallane, were three years and some odd months detained prisoners in the castle of Stirling, to the prejudice both of their health and estates. Yet could they never learn, even when they were dismissed, the reason why they were imprisoned, neither can it be alledged that they had access to the insurrection that unhappily fell out that year, they being imprisoned some months before there was any such appearance; and it is to be observed, that many, if not all, of these gentlemen were so loyally and zealously affected for the royal family, that during the time of the usurpation, their estates were seques-

trated, and they obliged to retire for the safety of their persons."*

* Account of the sufferings of the Lady Caldwell, of the Highland Host, &c. by Sir W. C. of C. MSS. in Advocates Library, No. xxxiii. Jac. V. i. 25, art. 57.

END OF THE NOTICES OF COLONEL WALLACE.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING AT PENTLAND,

BY COLONEL WALLACE.

[Colonel Wallace's Narrative is introduced by the following sentence in the manuscript in which it has been preserved. "Immediately after the action (of seizing Sir James Turner) they sent two gentlemen to Edinburgh, to give friends account thereof, who met with some honest men, and gave them the foresaid account of the business; and, what followed, see by this account written by him that commanded in chief, Wallace, who was at this meeting and went from Edinburgh to the west, where he met the rest."]

After several men's minds were inquired what was fitting to be done, it was resolved, (because that night was far spent) that to-morrow morning we should all meet at Mr. Robertson's cham-

ber at seven o'clock. In the mean time it was seriously recommended to every man to be serious with God about this particular, that God might direct and determine us herein. Being met to-morrow, without any farther, every man's judgment was asked what should be our carriage in this case, and what every man in particular was clear to do for himself. All was clear that it was our duty to own our brethren in Galloway, yea, and to go to them, and take share with them in what should be their lot, according to their capacity: and this every man spoke freely, to the great encouragement of one another; only Kaitloch*, he spoke so low, that few heard what he said; but it is said, that what he said was something of his unclearness to join, as the matter was stated. After prayer again, we parted, presently to make off the town. That day, being Friday, Mr. Robison and I went towards Libberton, where he assured me there were forty well-mounted good fellows, upon some few hours warning, ready to go alongst. But when we had stayed till to-morrow at night, our party came but to seven or eight. Always, that night, being Saturday, or rather Sabbath morning, (being to act something by the way, if some men's promises held) we went away straight to Linton Bridges.

* William Ferguson of Kaitloch, or Caitloch, printed by mistake, *Kaitloch*, in p. 23.

Before we came that length, Mr. Robertson and I parted that day, he went away toward Lesmahagow and these parts, and one or two with him, and I went in by Dunsire,* and the rest with me. We rested a while at Dunsire, and prayed, and after a while we got a guide and made towards the place where Mr. Robertson had appointed to meet me; but we found him in his sister's, where we stayed that night; only Mr. Robertson left us that night, and went to try the business above mentioned, desiring us to stay until he either came or sent to us. That same night being Sabbath night, at eight o'clock, came sure intelligence that Wicketshaw † was marched away that same night, with a considerable number of Carluke parish, towards the Galloway people, and that several other particular persons were gone with them. There we waited till Monday morning at day light, and then getting a guide, we make away straight to Mauchline, and by the way sent the guide to Robert Lockhart's house,‡ to inquire of Mr. Robertson where he was, where we got

* See before, p. 23.

† "*December 26th* 1663.—Willielmus Lockhart de Wicketschaw, haeres Wilielmi Lockhart de Wicketschaw, patris." (Ret. Inq. Gen. 4752; comp. Kirkton, 234.)

‡ Kirkton calls him "Captain Robert Lockhart." (Hist. p. 234.) Robert Lockhart of Birkhill, and Robert Lockhart of Bankhead, were forfeited for being in arms at Bothwel. The latter begged mercy, and offering to take the test, appears to have obtained a remission for life. (Wodrow, ii. 159, 323, 321. Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 165. Inq. Retorn. Lanark, 430.)

notice where he was, but that he was going away to the party. We thought strange he should have left us in such a condition. While we were coming towards the place, we met one who told us he feared they were gone; and when we came to the house they were gone: but about that house I saw two men, one whereof I perceived was Andrew Gray. He was in so uncouth a posture, with such a beggar like habit, and looking with such an abashed countenance, I was astonished and could not speak for a long time. Always he forbids me to be afraid; he tells me the Lord had favoured them with good success in that attempt upon Dumfries, and that, howbeit, after the business was done, many came and owned it, that never appeared before, when it was but to be hazarded upon; yet all or most of these gentlemen and countrymen had left it, and gone to their houses, as if there had been no more ado; whereupon he had left them to look to his own safety, being in a very insecure condition then, having been the chief actor in the business.* Upon this first account he gave us, we

* Kirkton, in his account of the seizing of Sir James Turner, says, "He who was chief in the party that took him was one Andrew Gray, ane Edinburgh merchant, who immediately deserted them, as did many more." (Hist. p. 232.) We have already met with him at Newcastle, where he was "in straits," and indebted to Veitch for relief. (See before, p. 49.) This is not very consistent with the story of his having retired with the

were uncouthly commoved. But when I began to gather my thoughts, I persuaded myself that Andrew had taken the pett; and that when going to their houses after the service, was that they might settle their affairs before they should go forth again. Upon this I concluded Andrew had taken his leave, or come away very briskly; but that they would not appear again was not rational, especially severals having been gone and going to them whose standing we were no less concerned in than theirs. Upon this a grieved and discontented man, I parted with Andrew Gray, fearing what ill he might and would do.

Away we came to a town within two miles of Evandale, where we stayed that night. To-morrow morning after several children being baptized, and after meeting with Andrew Rob of Wailslie,* whom we found not clear enough to join, though

money and baggage which he had taken from Sir James Turner, as told by Andrew Symson of Kirkinner. (Description of Galloway, 184.) Indeed, Blackader tells us that there was little to seize, and that Sir James's trunks "were much emptied, having sent the money he had exacted in oppression to Glasgow before, (as I have heard say) in some loads." (Crichton's Blackader, p. 139.)

* Mr. John Dickson, urging Mr. Macward to use his influence in favour of field meetings, and pointing out the proper persons to whom he should write, mentions "for Clidsdale, Andrew Robe in Walesly, very streight." (Wodrow MSS. lix. Jac. V. i. 26, art. 108.) "Mr. John Rob, son to Andrew Rob in Walsley," in the parish of Evandale, was imprisoned in 1683, and his name is in the fugitive roll of 1684. (Wodrow, ii. 307, app. 110.)

his health would, which he pretended, but slenderly, to be the lett. He told us likewise that Blackwood would not be sudden, and that he would expect to hear from us ere he moved. Here came likewise one Mr. Archibald Young, from his brother the chamberlain,* offering by commission from his brother, that if we would certify where he might meet us, and satisfy him in this point, who commanded in chief, he would come himself and bring the whole parish of Evandale; but we knew well enough what we might expect from him. After this we go straight towards Mauchline, overtaking by the way severals from Clydesdale, and captain Arnot, whom we had been necessitated to part with the day before, by occasion of his horse

* "*December* 4, 1684. James Young of Linbank, Duke Hamilton's bailie in Strathaven," being brought before the privy council, from Edinburgh prison, was "examined on his libel for reset, contributing money, &c.; and it being restricted to an arbitrary punishment, he adjected sundry alleviating qualities to his confession; but the clerk not having minuted them as frivolous, he refused to sign his oath and deposition." On the 10th of December, he and eight other Clydesdale gentlemen petitioned for license "to transport themselves and their families to the plantations of East New Jersey." This the Lords thought reasonable; "but the High-treasurer stopt it, in regard his Majesty might get L.10,000 sterling by their fines, for their bygone delinquencies, and then would dispose of their bodies by sending them to the plantations thereafter." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 317, 319.) He was afterwards fined in 10,000 merks.—(Wodrow, ii. 428: comp. 306. Inq. Retor. Lanark, 216.)

running away, after he had fallen off him. By the way we got notice of the party's being at Ayr. That night being Tuesday, we stayed at Mauchline, where our dear friend John Ross (who is now in glory) gave us notice that there was so much hazard from Drumlanrick and others, in and about Cumnock, as might cause us not to be secure. That same day had colonel Montgomery* and Gadgirth gone towards Eglinton, where they expected Dayell should have been. This was the countenance we were to expect from them. As we marched through the country towards Ayr upon the Wednesday, the ministers were living securely in their own houses, no more moved than if they had not been concerned. Now when it was so with these, what could be supposed would be the carriage of the country?

When we came to Ayr the party was at a ren-

* This was Major General Robert Montgomery, according to Kirkton. (Hist. 235.) He was fifth son to Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglinton, and fought in the parliamentary army during the civil war. (Douglas, Peer. i. 508. Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 243, 557, 587.) In a petition presented to the Privy Council, January 22, 1667, he says, that he had "remained (excepting a little time) now by the space of two years and four months, in the Castle of Stirling." (Wodrow, i. 280.) It is possible that he might be out of confinement when Wallace went to the west country. But it is more probable that the person referred to in the text was the Major General's brother, Colonel James Montgomery of Coilsfield, whose eldest daughter, Margaret, was married to John Chalmers of Gadgirth in Ayrshire. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, by Robertson,) p. 258.)

dezvous beyond the Bridge of Doon. In our going out to the party, there was a desire had come from some friends in Cunninghame, that a party might be presently sent to them, for bringing up of some that were ready to come, yet durst not adventure to meet without this party. Captain Arnot was presently sent away with a matter of 30 or 40 horse, and to meet us the morrow at Ochiltree, or where else we should leave him word. After this we go straight to the party, and after saluting them, the party marched off towards Ochiltree; but because it was far in the day, we were necessitated to quarter between Gadgirth and Ochiltree. By this time we got sure intelligence that the General's forces were come to Glasgow, and so found ourselves concerned to look to our guards. To-morrow morning, being Thursday, we marched away to the rendezvous place, on the road to Ochiltree, where Mr. Sempel preached while the party convened. After that we marched in towards Ochiltree, having left the great part of the horse in the country to the west hand of Ochiltree, and nearest the bridge of Barskimen, the only passage of the water at the time: the rest of the horse we sent to the east of Ochiltree, to guard on that hand: the foot we kept in the town. The officers were quartered in the laird's house, where we had but very cold welcome; but I hope whatever incivility we had from the lady, she had none from us.

She saw us at our first entry, and said, we have a good cause, and she loved our cause and our persons, but she did not see our call.*

That night we were alarmed from our guard at Barskimin, that the enemy was come with a party to Mauchline. We sent away and strengthened the guard both by foot and horse at the bridge, and caused them send off this same John Ross towards Mauchline, to see what certainty there was therein. John Ross returns us word that it was only Mr. John Guthrie† with some Tarbol-

* Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree's lady was Margaret, second daughter of Sir William Strickland of Boynton in Yorkshire. (Playfair's Brit. Family Antiq. vol. vi. p. 327. Douglas, Peer. i. 474.) The Strickland family were favourable to ejected ministers. (Kennet's Chronicle, p. 899.) Walter Strickland, (Lady Cochrane's uncle) who had been agent of the Parliament of England at the Hague, was no friend of the Presbyterians, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his, dated June 6th 1650: "One piece of the cure (viz. of the dangers that threaten your New State) must be *phlebotomy*, but then you must begin before decumbency, and then it will be facile to prevent danger, &c. They are here most of all afraid of your High Court of Justice, which they doubt may much discourage their party. But whosoever that court condemns, let them be as already dead, &c. But let them be most free in cutting the *Vena Cephalica* (that is, the Presbyterian party) for the *Basilica* (or Royal party) will be latent. The *Median* (or Levellers) wou'd be spaired as much as may be, that the body be not too much emaciated. Besides, the blood is most corrupt in the *Cephalicks* (or Presbyterians) and is the very *causa continens* of our disease. You need not fear to take freely of this vein, &c."—(Presbyterian Loyalty, 306, 307.)

† He was brother to Mr. William Guthrie, minister of Fen-

ton folks, and a brother of Gadgirth's with them, one Robert Chalmers.* For intelligence they could only give us, that there was a strong report the Duke's troop was come to Kilmarnock; but they hoped that night we should get the certainty of it, because they had caused John Ross, with three more, to go towards Kilmarnock, to get certain intelligence. That night, after prayer to God for direction what to do next, it was concluded that we should march eastward. For there was no staying where we were, and there was no expectation of any farther help from the south and southwest hand; Carrick having sent none, for ought I know, except some odd one or other; as for Cunninghame and Renfrew, we had ground to expect any they would send would come to us, with captain Arnot and others we had sent to advertise them and bring them up. Besides this, there was an earnest invitation sent us from Clydesdale, in particular from Black-

wick. Having been seized with a violent fit of the gravel, through cold and fatigue, he was obliged to be carried off from the army at Bathgate, and was not present at Pentland. Notwithstanding this, he was tried and forfeited, August 16, 1667. (Wodrow, i. 248; app. 110, 111.) It appears that he was dead before November 1, 1676; for on that day the privy council send "Mary Haldane, relict of Mr. John Guthrie, minister at Tarbolton," and another minister's widow, to prison, "until they shall find caution, under a thousand merks each, to remove from the town of Edinburgh, and six miles round it." (Ib. p. 427.)

* He was forfeited, but obtained a remission. (Wodrow, i. 268; app. 113.)

wood, to come thither; promising us, besides what we might expect in the country, himself and one hundred men with him. Now, we knew the enemy would bestir themselves to meet with us before our friends should come at us, and labour to take us at the weakest, for they wanted not intelligence that same night we came to Ochiltree, by the laird of Barskimen, who had gone towards them from Ochiltree, as we were certainly informed.*

Upon the morrow, being Friday, we marched towards Cumnock, but before we came that length, John Millar in Glasgow, who had been one of those sent off for intelligence, came and told us that John Ross † and the rest of that party were taken prisoners by the Duke's troop, and that he himself had hardly escaped, having lost his horse and arms. This day the enemy's whole body came to Kilmarnock. From Cum-

* "Since I wrote this, I have information that the Council of Scotland have sent 2000 foot and 500 horse to quell the rebels; expecting a conjunction of more forces from the Duke of Hamilton, my Lords Anandil, Dumlarick, [Drumlanrick] and others, assuring us they would be able to master them presently."—(Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Whitehall, November 26, 1666; in Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 429.)

† John Ross was executed at Edinburgh, December 7, 1666. He is one of seven who sign a declaration and testimony, preserved in the Wodrow MSS. No. lx. art. 43, which differs in the arrangement from that which is published in Naphtali, though the tenour of the two papers is the same.

nock we marched the same night to the Moorkirk, in a most violent rainy night, and a piece of miserable way, two hours within night, and what accommodation in that condition we could have there, is known to any who knows that place. The poor foot were forced all night, as wet as if they had been drenched in water, to lie in the kirk, without victuals or much fire. That night came the goodman (*alias* Mr. Andrew M'Cormack) to me, about 10 o'clock at night, from his quarters, two miles, to acquaint me that Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart had come to that place, and had been earnestly dealing with him and Mr. Brysone, (*alias* Mr. Gabriel Semple) to follow the business no farther, for there was no ground to expect any help either from Clidesdale or any where else, that might give us any ground to follow it farther; and therefore their advice was, that we would, the fairest way and the handsomest we could, dismiss the people, and let every one see to himself, while (until) the Lord gave some better opportunity. This was so pressed by them, that the goodman was constrained to come away to me, and these with me, the same night. This was the comfort we had from him and Robert Lockhart, under that sad condition of a foul night and ill quarter we were in. Always that same

night, I sent away Murreif * and the goodman to Mr. John Guthrie, who was at Mr. John Reid's house, a mile off, to acquaint him therewith. To-morrow morning when we met, hearing that captain Arnot was coming up with two hundred men out of Cuninghame, and that there were a hundred more coming out of Gallo-

* John Maxwell, younger of Murreif (Monreith) was forfeited for being in arms at Pentland. (Wodrow, i. app. 109, 111.) His father, William Maxwell of Monreith, was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Wigton, January 23, 1667, a short time after the suppression of the rising. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 544.) It is doubtful whether Wodrow had the father or the son in his eye, when he gives an account of a narrow escape which "Maxwell of Monerief" made in 1668, by concealing himself in a meal-tub, on which one of the soldiers rapped with his hand as he passed it, swearing in jest, that the Whig might be there. (Wodrow, i. 292.) Mr. Sempil informs us that he went to Ireland, some time after the battle of Pentland, with the lairds of Monereif and Sundewal, whom he styles "two as serious, tender, and public-spirited Christians," as he ever knew. At Dublin Monreith contracted a tympany, of which he died at Benbarb or Armagh. (Sempil's Life, MS. p. 49.) Mrs. Goodall mentions an escape which he made in her house at Armagh. "The officers are sent for my husband, and coming in to our house to the fire-side (where my husband was sitting with Mr. Maxwell, the laird of Moncrief [Monereif] in Galloway, who was but newly come to visit us) say to him, 'Mr. Goodall, you are the King's prisoner.' My husband went hastily with them, and whispered into my ear, 'My dear, dispatch Mr. Maxwell out of our house, lest he be sent for next.' So my husband was imprisoned, and Mr. Maxwell got safely escaped into the country." (MS. Memoir, *ut supra*, p. 10.) John Maxwell of Monreith, *younger*, is the person referred to, both by Mr. Sempil and Mrs. Goodall. (Comp. Inq. Retor. Wigton, 164, 165.)

way, after prayer, it was concluded to march towards Douglas, and, by the way or there, spend some considerable time together upon Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart's proposal. So we marched towards Douglas, having sent back a party for intelligence, and to wait upon Captain Arnot's upcoming, who came up; but his two hundred was not forty more nor he carried with him. We came to Douglas on Saturday at night, (Nov. 24) and ordered the whole troops to come in, after they had suppered themselves and their horses, to the town, and bring some forage with them; and the troops to lie together, at such a place appointed for rendezvous, while (until) day;—the whole foot being in the kirk. We were advertised by friends that we would be alarmed that night, so therefore we strengthened ourselves beyond our ordinary guards.

When these things were done, we met all together, and after most serious incalling of the name of God, the matter as spoken by Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart, both the thing itself and all the arguments they did urge it by, were held forth; and, after a long time's speaking to the full upon the business, first the ministers' own voices were desired, and after them every particular gentleman's own mind was asked. Without one contrary voice all resolved on this, that the coming forth to own that people in Galloway, they were clear, was of the Lord,

and in that they had done nothing but followed his call. Second, many friends had promised, yea, not only solemnly promised, but most effectually laboured with others, to come forth. "If these now shall leave us, betwixt them and their master be it; but as for me (said every one) while the Lord himself that bade me come, bid me likewise go, I will not go. Our master whom we serve (we know well, if ever there was a handful about whom he exercised a providence, it is about us) he needs no men, or if he will make use of men, we will not want; and who knows but the service he will have is but of so many whom he has particularly designed? And before we should now so shamefully and cowardly turn our back on him, and steal away from his cause," (they knew that it was but death, if not worse, any life they could have else,) "we should follow on till he should do his service by us, and though we should all die at the end of it, we think the giving of a testimony enough for all." So there was no more of that. Only there was two things proposed: The one was, the renewing of the covenant, which was to have been to-morrow, being the Lord's day, at some kirk by the way towards Lanark; but hearing that the general's forces were come to Straven, we thought it not safe nor convenient: The other was, what course should be taken with Sir James Turner. Though there was no quarters given him, yet because of some

words by the gentlemen that took him, and because of his being now, after so long a time, spared;—for these reasons, this motion of pistoling him was slighted, alas! it is to be feared too much.

As we marched the morrow morning towards Lesmahago, being the Sabbath day, (25th) Knockbreck's two sons* came to us, with some few others. These were the hundred men we had heard were coming from Galloway, for we saw no other. We marched close by Robert Lockhart's house, where Mr. Robertson was with Mr. Robert Lockhart. None of them came out (though it was but three or four paces from the house) to countenance us so much; yet some of our company, in the by-coming, spoke with them, such as Mr. Brysson, Sundaywell, and old worthy Robert Bruce of Skellietoun;† who most freely and faithfully ac-

* John and Robert Gordon, sons of Alexander Gordon of Knockbreck, were executed at Edinburgh. (Wodrow, i. 257.) Their names are subscribed to the testimony formerly mentioned. (See before, p. 398.) The sufferings of their father, both before and after they took up arms, are noticed by Wodrow. (i. 257, 265, 425.)

† Skellietoun is perhaps in Lesmahago parish, where there is a Skelliehill. (Fug. Roll. Wodrow, ii. 107.) In 1662, William Bruce of Skellietoun, elder and younger, were fined between them in L.600. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 423.) "Robert Bruce in Hamiltone, one shaken with indulged counsels, though a serious Christian," is mentioned in a letter of Dickson to Macward. (Wodrow MSS. No. lix. Jac. V. i. 26, art. 108.)

quitted themselves to them, in particular to Mr. Robertson. That day we perfected the modelling of our forces, wherein we found great want of officers, there not being, to the few number we had, half of the officers requisite, not above four or five that ever had been soldiers before.* After this we marched towards Lanark, crossing the water hard by the town.

After our settling the guards, quartering the rest, having given intimation that to-morrow morning (God willing) we intended to renew the covenant, and desiring that every one of them would seriously mind that work that night, and come hither again about day-light for that end, we dismissed them to their quarters and several posts. That night the officers and ministers met, and after incalling on the Lord, hearing there were some arms and ammunition to be found in the town,

* The following persons acted as officers under Colonel Wallace: Major Joseph Learmont; Andrew Arnot, John Paton, John M'Lellan of Barscob, John Maxwell, younger of Monreith, and Robert M'Lellan of Balmagachan, captains; Robert Gordon, younger of Knockbreck, a cornet of horse; and Mr. George Cruickshanks, who had a "command." (Wodrow, i. app. 99, 109; Samson's Riddle, 37, 38.) It is highly probable that Major John M'Culloch, who was executed for being at Pentland, (Wodrow, i. app. 92,) was also one of the officers. He was Root-master (Master of Horse) for Wigton and Kirkcudbright in 1645. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 194.) "Major M'Cullo of Barholme" was fined L.800, by Middleton's act, in 1662. (Ib. vii. 428.) The sufferings of his family are noticed by Wodrow. (Vol. i. p. 257, 425: comp. Inq. Retor. Kirkcudbright, 384.)

we caused make search, but found few or none. The morrow morning (26th) we drew together in the rendezvous-place at the head of the town. While we are together, news comes that the enemy are within two miles. Some were against meddling with the renewing of the covenant, the enemy being so near; but the devil prevailed not herein, though gladly would he, that that had not been done. Having sent one with a matter of ten or twelve horse over the water to discover the enemy, and having a settled guard upon the water-side, and upon the boat, we went about it. The foot were drawn up about the tolbooth stairs, where Mr. Guthrie did stand: the horse at the head of the town, where Mr. Brysson and Mr. Crookshanks were actors. It was done with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition. They prefaced with speaking on some place of Scripture.* . . . . . There were but very few others than ourselves at the doing of it: none, that I know of, of any place or qua-

* "After they had sent out their scouts, the foot gathered together upon the High Street, and Mr. John Guthrie, standing upon the tolbooth stairs, preached to them, and thereafter read the covenant, to which they all engaged, solemnly, with uplifted hands, and great affection. The horse convened at the town-head, where Mr. Gabriel Semple and Mr. John Cruikshanks preached, and then read and renewed the covenant in like manner. Mr. Semple, in his sermon, cited and applied Prov. xxiv. 11, 12, which much affected the people, and, it may be, persuaded some to join them." (Kirkton, 238.)

lity in that town or about it being with us. That morning immediately before, came Mr. Thomas Scott, minister of Hawick,* and Major Gilgour, who joined with us in the work.

Immediately after that we had drawn up the whole body, it was resolved (because of our friends hereabout that were to come to us that day, and because of many more expected from West Calder, Shotts, Bathgate, and other parts farther off) that we should march towards Bathgate. After we had marched away, a party commanded by Captain Arnot was sent to wait a considerable time on the water-side, and to keep out scouts to watch the enemy's motions; and, after a while's stay, to break the boat and come away, he and the other party that watched in the time of renewing the covenant. Severals did indeed come in that day, more than had three days before. That day the laird of Blackwood came thither. He was most kindly embraced by severals who supposed he had come to join, and had brought his folks with him; but he told, he was come thither, sent by my Lord Duke Ha-

* He was employed in preaching in Northumberland, along with Welsh, Semple, &c. in the year 1677; (Wodrow, i. 436;) and on the 28th of August 1678, he was moderator of a presbyterial meeting at Edinburgh, which dealt with Mr. Richard Cameron about his forwardness, especially in his opposition to the indulged ministers, and in exhorting the people to desert them. (MSS. in Advocates Library. Jac. V. 1, 10, art. 100.) He married Marion Livingston. (Inq. Retor. Gen. 7970.)

milton, to see if possible effusion of blood might be shunned, and what we would be at. This, I heard, he spoke of to some. He pretended to no written commission but only verbal; neither did he apply himself to any amongst us who were at that time specially concerned to be spoken to; only, by way of regret to Mr. Brysson and some few others of his acquaintance, he did express himself how grieved the Duke was for the condition of things as they stood; and what it was we would be at before we laid down arms. These things, Mr. Brysson and others said, he had been very overly speaking of; but he never desired a meeting of those whom it most concerned, and of whom he might receive his answer. But how he came and how he went I know not, nor any else, for ought I know. That day he leaves us, having never tabled formally any such thing. This, as it was great simplicity in us to suffer any man come from an enemy to return at his pleasure, so is not his carriage handsome; for to indifferent persons he may be justly looked upon as one abusing the credit he had with us, to the emboldening him to come in amongst us, and see our condition and strength, and make an account hereof to the enemy; for he left us without good night, and went back to the enemy.

While near night-falling, a strong body of the enemy's horse dogged our rear; but night falling on they fell back. When we came to Bathgate,

two hours within night, we can have no accommodation, nay, no cover from an extraordinary rain. We went into a house, such as it was, and after prayer did consider what we should do next: back we might not go, the enemy being in our rear. After much debate, it was thought fit that we should march to-morrow early on the way towards Edinburgh; being confident that, before we could come that length, we would hear from our friends at Edinburgh; as likewise our friends in West Calder and Shotts, or thereabouts, would come to us that way, and meet us to-morrow. But within a very little after the meeting is dissolved, we get an alarm from some of our guards; and though it was a dreadfully dark (though but a little past the height of the moon,) and foul night, yet after that long wearisome march that day before, we were necessitated to draw forth, and calling in the guards, to march at twelve o'clock at night, in one of the darkest nights (I am persuaded) that ever any in that company saw. Except we had been tied together, it was impossible to keep together; and every little burn was a river. We came near the new bridge* about fair day light; (27th) but O, what a sad sight was it to see the condition we were in, so scattered and utterly undone, what with one

* "They came forward through Bathgate, east through Broxburn, and along the New Bridge, and thence towards Collington." (Life of Alexander Reid, p. 16, 17.)

thing, and what with another! Yet within an hour or two, far beyond our expectation, most part were gathered together; howbeit, many got never up. All this time we never heard less or more from our friends in Edinburgh, which we thought more than wonderful; neither came there any further help to us from the west, whence we expected it. When we drew up on the east side of the new bridge, except some of the chief officers, there was not a captain present with the horse, save one; and, in the mean time cometh an alarm that the enemy was hard at hand, marching unto the same bridge. Judge any man of the posture we were in, having no officers to command the few we had together. Always, a party is sent off presently to make good the bridge; and the body is marched off to take up some fit ground or other to fight on.

While we were marching to a little height above the bridge, Blackwood cometh and assures us, that it was but a false alarm, and that the general was not nearer than Calder, if there. After, the party was sent away to Colington, for to Edinburgh (not hearing any thing from there) we thought it not safe, especially hearing that severals in the country were in arms against us; for they had caused the word to go that there were 40 ships from Holland come to Dunbar, and that we were upon our march thither to join with them. We heard likewise in the country, that Edin-

burgh and Leith were all in arms.* Now, having no intelligence from our friends, we resolved to march towards Colington bridge. The party being gone, Blackwood then desires to speak with the commanders and others. All that he had to say was, in short, to see if he could persuade us to lay down arms upon an act of indemnity, which the duke (said he) would labour to procure. He had no written commission from any: what he spoke to this purpose he spoke it not only as sent from the duke, but it was his own judgment we should accept of the offer, and that it would be our best; for, in all probability we would not be able to stand before them, both in respect of the number of their men, and of their appointment every way. He spoke something likewise of our sending on to deal for a cessation for some few days, until matters were understood. We asked, if he had any such motion from them to us: he answered, not. After some freedom used to himself, to take good heed to his carriage in that matter, as being no small concernment to him so to do, being looked upon by us as a real friend and servant to that interest

* November 23, 1666, the town council of Edinburgh caused make a proclamation for preventing and discovering the joining with those now in rebellion. Their treasurer is appointed to pay "six horse hire that went to Lithgow with ammunition. The privy council's order for taking notice of such as pass at Leith sent down to the bailies thereof." (Record of Town Council.)

we were here for, to see well that he walked straightly in his dealings both with us and them—after this, without any thing at all done, we parted with him, seeing no ground whereupon we could do any thing.

We sent away some few horsemen to bring in some victuals, in case the quarters at night had not been well provided. Now, having had such a weary journey from Lanark, and from Bathgate, having gotten so little rest and refreshment—for these reasons we resolved, Colington being the most secure place, to let the horse go out a mile with bilgets, and refresh themselves and horses; and return before night fall, bringing some forage with them. Accordingly we did, having provided the best way we could for the foot within the town, and furnished such as wanted with what we sent for from the country. Guards being set, the officers went to their quarters. We were not well there when Blackwood* comes again, and

* William Lawrie married Mariot Weir, heiress of Blackwood, and was tutor of Blackwood during the minority of his son and grandson. (Douglas, Bar. 155. Inq. de Tutela, 1056.) He was imprisoned immediately after the battle of Pentland, probably on account of the intercourse he had held with the insurgents; and after a gradual relaxation, was liberated from confinement on the 9th of October, 1667, on enacting himself to keep the peace under pain of 5000 merks. (Decreta Secr. Conc. March 7 and 21, Aug. 1, and Oct. 9, 1667.) He was one of the witnesses against Colonel Wallace. (Wod. i. app. 107.) In 1683 he was brought to trial for intercourse with the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, and

the laird of Barskiming with him. It was thought very strange how he or any man had passed the guards, but men not knowing discipline are not to be looked upon as others. Besides the renewing the same things he spoke of before, Blackwood added that, in reference to what he had been speaking of our seeking a cessation for some time, that the general had parolled to him, that, till his coming back to-morrow morning early, that he might bring our answer, the general should not encroach upon us, nor wrong us; and that, upon the general's doing this, he himself had taken upon him, in our names, to parole the like for us, that we should not encroach upon him, nor wrong him, while that time; which (as he thought) would be about eight or nine hours in the morning. Barskiming indeed added, that we should not enlarge our quarters; but Blackwood himself flouted at that. All that we said to Blackwood that night was, as to his parolling in our name, we did not understand this way of his; howbeit, it was very like there would none of us wrong other that time, being both dark and foul; and if he stayed that night he might see it. He seemed to be feared for our going to Edinburgh or Leith, from which we

condemned to be executed; a sentence which excited great alarm, but which was not carried into execution. (Fount. Dec. i. 213—215. Wod. ii. 293—295. Act. Parl. Scot. viii. app. 33—35.)

heard nothing from our friends; only in the country we heard they were all in arms; and that considerable persons were gone from the country to join with Dalyell: that the ports were all shut.

Upon Wednesday morning, (28th) about daylight, Blackwood calls to be gone; now Barskiming had slipped away very early, and stayed not upon him, yet I am confident Blackwood knew of his going. Now, because of the condition we were in, being not above 800 or 900 men, and these most part without arms, and now being out of expectation of any supplies, except what little help Major Gilgour had told us of, we might expect from Tiviotdale, which was both very uncertain and inconsiderable; and considering the miserable condition of the weather we had gotten all that eight days before, and the sore marches night and day in our seeking to call out and gather together our friends; and what influence these things had upon our spirits to discourage and break us, besides the influence they had on our bodies—for these reasons we were to have sent one of our number with Blackwood to the general Dalyell, by whom we might represent our grievances and the grounds of our thus appearing in arms; but because we had none, whom we might spare, fit for the employment, but one, whom Blackwood told us, not being a law-biding man, would not be acceptable, for this cause we forbare, and resolved (Blackwood being come to us

without any formal commission, only pretending he was sent to us to speak what I told you before) to write back to Dalyell with him, though he had not written at all to us. Accordingly the letter is drawn to this purpose; that, because of intolerable insolencies of the prelates and their unsupportable oppressions, all ways of remonstrating or petitioning being taken from us, we were necessitated to draw together, that jointly we might the more securely petition his Majesty and council for redress; but in respect that his excellency was not there, by whom we intended to present our supplication, to interpose for a favourable hearing thereof, and that we knew not when the council-day would be, we did desire of his excellency not only to be acquainted with the diet, but that we might have a blank-pass to a person whom we might send with our petition; and we had desired the same gentleman who had come to us from his excellency, might have the answer, who would be careful of its coming to our hands. In the close there was mention of one of our soldiers killed in our quarters, notwithstanding the parole mentioned by Blackwood. The letter was subscribed by Wallace, and sent away by Blackwood, who promised with all speed to have the return at us very soon; and because he was uncertain where he might find us, we bade him hasten back to his own house, and he

should know there where to find us. Away he goes, hopeful to bring us up this pass.

We marched away straight to Inglistown Bridge, in about the point of Pentland Hills, and sent off, as before, some for bringing in provisions by the way. Some we sent to Tiviotdale to signify our being here, and our expecting them. Now Major Gilgour and Mr. John Scott had left us that night we came from Bathgate, upon what account they knew best themselves; always, it had been better for us, and (I fear) for themselves both, and others of that kind, that they had not come at all to us, than to come and leave us in the condition we were in.

Being necessitated at such a place, because several both horse and foot were straggling, to draw up, we were not well together when there is a report of a body marching towards us, through a glen that comes from Calder through Pentland Hills towards Pennicuick.* Because it was hard by us, we went but two or three paces farther up on the brae, when we discover them within a quarter of a mile of us. Now there

* "*Whitehall, December* 1, 1666. My Lord, since my last my Lord of Lauderdail hath received two expresses from Scotland, the effect of which were, that his Majesty's forces under General *Diel* were preparing themselves to attack the enemy, and doubted not of being quickly masters of them." (Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, in Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 429, 430.)

was a great glen betwixt us, so as neither of us could have access to other. There we stood brandishing our swords. Now their foot was not come up, only were coming. A party of their horse (I think to the number of fifty or thereabout) seeing they could not come at us here, they take away westward. A party of ours, much to the same number, were commanded to march the same way. Both parties marches thus along the side of their own hill, towards an even place of ground, to which both of them came. They were not long asunder, when once they were there. After they had discharged their fire, they closed, and for a considerable time stand dealing with swords; at last the enemy runs; and, if they had not retired by a way that there was no dealing with them, alongst the side of a steep hill, it is like there had not many of them gone home. In this first assault fell, with the first fire, Mr. John Crookshank and Mr. Andrew M'Cormick, two main instruments of the attempt, two Ireland ministers.* Now this party behoved to be chosen men, for they were well appointed, and indeed made an uncouth attempt; (being in the reverence of our whole horse,

* See before, p. 42.—"Andrew M'Cormick at Macheraly," was one of the Irish ministers with whom Mr. John Livingston was acquainted in 1656. (Life of Mr. John Livingston, p. 42. Ed. 1727.)

though none meddled with them but the first party) and this they did their alone, neither was there any of their own near them to second them. They being beaten back thus with some loss of men on both hands, there was a party of our foot commanded toward that place where they and the rest of their horse stood, being no ways accessible for horse to do them any hurt. Upon the foot's approach they were forced to quit that side of the glen that lay on the west hand, and to go over to the east side of the glen, where they stayed till their foot came up. In this condition we stood foreagainst other: neither of us could well come at other where we stood. When their foot came up, their whole horse and foot came down off the hill towards a moor beneath us on our right hand; and there they drew up in battle array, thinking to provoke us to quit our ground, and to fight them on even ground. We perceiving how numerous they were, being at least (whatever they were more) in all three times our number, resolved we would not quit our ground. There we stood only fronting other.

After this, we perceive a party of their horses on their right hand advancing towards us. After some mutual communion what was fit to be done, whether to fight them, if put to it, that same night, because, if we delayed that night, (as we

readily might, if we had pleased) we might expect, whatever we might be fewer, the enemy would be no fewer; after prayer it was resolved, that, if the Lord in providence did order so as we were put to it, we should put ourselves in his hand, and quit ourselves of our duty; resolving, in his strength, never to break till he that brought us together break us, and though we should serve for no more but to give a testimony, and it were by leaving our corpse there, to adventure it. The party that we had seen advancing to us before prayer, came up so near that we found ourselves called to give them a meeting, and so a party of near as many were sent down from our left hand to meet them; and, in respect, there had come a few of their foot upon the flanks of their party, a few of our foot were sent off with ours to rencounter them. The two parties meets, and after fire given on both sides, they fall to it with swords. Whilst the two troops are dealing it thus betwixt them, our foot party makes theirs run. Immediately their horse runs likewise. So soon as the enemy see their horse put to flight, immediately there is another party commanded off their right hand, and quickly advances towards the relief of their own men. Upon this, another party is sent down from our left hand to meet them. After these two fresh bodies had grasped a while together, the enemy runs, and, in the view of all, this party of ours did so hotly

pursue them that they chased them far away by their body. Upon this, advances the rest of their horse that were on their right hand, and forcing back our party, a party of our horse on the right hand were sent off. Now their whole body of horse on their left hand were unbroken; and upon these two parties being engaged, their whole left hand of horses advances. Now we had no more but a matter of fourscore horse to meet with their whole left hand. Always, all marches up towards other, but being oppressed with multitude we were beaten back; and the enemy coming in so full a body, and so fresh a charge, that having us once running, they carried it so strongly home, that they put us in such confusion that there was no rallying, but every man runs for his own safety. If the Lord had not in providence so ordered that we had greatly the advantage of the ground, being at a pretty height above them, and that it was growing dark, and close upon the edge of Pentland-hills whither we fled, in all probability there had been a greater destruction than there was. There was not above a hundred killed and taken prisoners by the enemy: what assistance the country made that night to the enemy is well known.*

* "Whitehall, 4th December, 66. My Lord, yesterday morning his Majesty received a particular account from Scotland of his forces having beaten and routed the rebels near Edinburgh, kill-

Although this poor handful, thus defeat, had travelled much to gather their friends, and to give opportunity to the lovers of the truth to show themselves in defence thereof, yet none came from any other place that was any thing remote from them. Only some were making ready to their assistance, none of which appeared, save Moor, laird of Caldwell,* who had gathered forty or fifty horse, and the Sabbath night before the defeat he began to march, following Wallace to have joined with him, and came as far as Glasford parish; but could not win forward to their friends, the enemy being fallen in between them. Yet had they marched to Bothwell Bridge, and not to Glasford, they might have come at them; but they had no intelligence, so having attempted (but in vain) to cross Clyde, it being great with the rains that had fallen, they returned home again. In this troop was Maxwell of Blackston, son to the laird of Newark, Ker of Kersland, John Cuning-

ing and taking near 500 of them, their chief also slain in the action, the sum of which will come to your hands by the inclosed. His Majesty bids me tell your Grace he hath written unto Scotland to have severe punishment inflicted upon the offenders, and strict inquiry to be made into the contrivance of their design, and the correspondence they might have had with other parts, and accordingly recommends to your Grace the having special care taken to seize all persons that may have fled from their party into Ireland, or held correspondence with them." (Arlington's Letters to Ormond, *ut supra*, p. 430.)

* See before, p. 374.

hame of Bedland,* Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, minister of Dundonald, deposed by the bishop, and Mr. John Carstairs, minister of Glasgow, of whom before, who had been lurking all this time till now, that these gentlemen urged him (and that partly against his will) to rise alongst with them. These were the most noted persons, with others, making up a troop, commanded by the laird of Caldwell. After the defeat, Blackston,† persuaded thereto, came to the council and declared his own and the other gentlemen's rebellion, (as they called it) manifesting all he knew of the other gentlemen's carriage in that business;

* The family of Bedland was a branch of the Cunninghames of Craigends, and more remotely of the noble house of Glencairn. Mr. John Cuninghame of Bedland was served heir to his father, March 18, 1664. (Inq. Retor. Ayr, 537.) Being forfeited for accession to the rebellion in 1666, he was transferred from one prison to another during many years, and after different petitions was at last liberated on a declaration, that he had "resolved, by his future deportment and behaviour, to witness the deep sense he hath of his gracious Majesty's great clemency;" he having found caution under 5000 merks to re-enter into prison when required. (Decret. Sec. Concil. May 2, 1677. Act. Sec. Concil. Aug. 2, 1677.) "Mr. John Cuningham, sometime of Bedland," is mentioned among those engaged in the rebellion at Bothwell, in the proclamation against the rebels, June 26, 1679; (Wodrow, ii. 93, app. 27;) and several persons are afterwards proceeded against for conversing or corresponding with him. (Ibid. pp. 281, 298, 426.)

† John Maxwell of Blackston was the third son of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark and Blackston, and his only daughter married Alexander Napier, a grandson of the celebrated inventor of the logarithms. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 90, 119, 377.) Notwith-

he was imprisoned a while, and thereafter set at liberty. Caldwell, Kersland,* and Bedland, were sought for, and their houses barbarously rifled and plundered by the soldiers, themselves fled off

standing his turning informer against his associates, he did not escape trouble. On the 25th of March, 1667, he was, after several months' imprisonment, removed, on his petition, from the tolbooth to the castle of Edinburgh, "if the Lord Lyon can accommodate him." (Decr. Sec. Concil.) And on the 21st of November that year, he was ordered to be set at liberty on his giving bond to keep the peace under £1000 Scots. (Wodrow, i. 280.) He is said to have died at sea on his way to Carolina. (Ibid. p. 248.)

* Captain Thomas Crawfurd of Jordanhill (who surprised the castle of Dumbarton in 1571) married Janet, heiress of Robert Ker of Kersland, the representative of a very ancient family in Ayrshire. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 71.) His eldest son, Daniel, succeeded to the title and estate of Kersland, and was succeeded by his son Hugh. (Inq. Retor. Renfrew, 68, 209; Ayr, 179, 238.) Hugh was alive in 1644, (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 133,) and was either the father, or (which is more probable) the grandfather of "Robert Ker of Kersland, younger," who was at the battle of Pentland. In a list of the rents of certain forfeited estates made in 1669, Kersland is valued—"Victual 119 bolls, deducing to *Old Kersland* 60 bolls." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. folio, No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 78.) Robert Ker of Kersland, younger, was a commissioner of supply in 1661. (Ibid. vii. 92.) His estate was given to Lieutenant-General Drummond, after his forfeiture, which was ratified by Parliament in 1669, and rescinded by it in 1690. (Wodrow, i. 268; app. No. xvi. Samson's Riddle, 139, 144. Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 562; ix. 199.) His escape to Holland, his apprehension on his return to Scotland, his second escape after a long imprisonment, and his death at Utrecht, Nov. 14, 1680, are recorded by Wodrow. (i. 423—425.) There is preserved a draught of a petition to the Privy Council, in which the petitioner, after mentioning that he had been confined for five years in different

the kingdom, and were forfeited of life and estate at Lammas next. Their rents were uplifted by two ruffians appointed by Dalziel and Drummond, who trusted his Majesty would not deny them their estates for their good service; but they were

prisons, says, "in the very coldest of this season, and in such a time when some of them were wrestling under heavy and sad sickness, others enduring pains of the stone-gravel so excessive as cannot be expressed, were my thus pained children extruded out of the castle with all the rest, except one daughter, who, with myself and tender wife, and one servant, were thrust up to another room, that is known to be intolerable for smoke and cold." The petition concludes with a request for "a change of imprisonment to Edinburgh castle," with the view of having an operation performed on the child afflicted with the stone. The name of the petitioner has been carefully deleted, but on a narrow inspection appears to be "Robert Ker of Kersland," prisoner in the "castle of Stirling." The date, which has been altered, was originally 1675. In a note on the back of the petition, in a different handwriting, and apparently Kersland's, the petitioner signifies that, after the draught was made, he hesitated as to its being his duty to present it, "being diffident of treating or tampering with these so dreadfully-given-up men." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. Jac. V. 2, 26, art. 30.) A letter, which appears to be written by the same person to Macward, is dated, "From my close prison at Stirling castle, the 31st Dec. 1673." The writer says, "though I know not if Forbes (Colonel Wallace) be there, yet about a week ago I wrote to him, which was my second. I wrote also to the good old provost." He mentions that he had been visited by Mr. Thomas Forrester, curate of Alva, "to whose recantation my Rob. Jea. and Meg, with a great gathering of honest people, were auditors." (MSS. *ut supra*, Jac. V. i. 26, art. 28.) Robert Ker left a widow, Barbara Montgomery, a son, Daniel, and three daughters. Daniel being killed, in 1692, at the battle of Steinkirk, John Crawfurd of Fergushill, a cadet of the family of Crawfurdland, who married

both disappointed; and these, their chamberlains, were forced to make their accounts to the Exchequer, who appointed the laird of Housle* to uplift these rents, and make account to the said lords of Exchequer.

Anna, eldest sister of Daniel Ker, assumed the surname, title, and arms of the house of Kersland. He is the author of the book known by the name of *Kersland's Memoirs.* (Diet. of Decisions, 4755. Letter prefixed to Kersland's Memoirs. Robertson's Ayrshire, 244.)

* The person here referred to is James Dunlop of Househill, whose father, Thomas, (fourth son of James Dunlop of that ilk) purchased the lands of Househill in 1646. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 45, 328. He was a Justice of the Peace for Renfrew, and a commissioner of supply in 1661 and 1678. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 94, 506; viii. 224.) But he did not escape the severities of that time, being fined for negligence in suppressing conventicles in 1676, obliged to withdraw for refusing to take the bond in 1678, and imprisoned for reset in 1683. (Wodrow, i. 427, 486; ii. 306.) What is stated in the text respecting the forfeited estates committed to his management is only correct in part. His commission to that purpose, dated Oct. 12, 1667, is inserted in Wodrow, i. app. No. xvii. It is probable that the rents of these estates had been illegally lifted by the agents of General Dalziel, &c. and that the lords of the treasury obliged them to account for their intromissions to the laird of Househill; but these estates were, in the year 1670, gifted by the crown to Dalziel, Drummond and others. (Samson's Riddle. Wodrow, i. app. No. xviii. Crawfurd's Renfrew, 301, 302.) During the time that they were under Househill's management, an attempt was made to secure them to the respective families, by compounding with the government. There is a letter, dated May 27, 1669, from Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, (then a prisoner in Stirling castle) to Mr. Thomas Hay, one of the clerks of Privy Council, proposing a composition for the lands of Caldwell, Kerseland, Quarellton,

As there were not many come to help this honest party from other shires, so the several rendezvous in the shires for helping to suppress the rebels were but very slack, and these that met (according to the public order) came so accoutred, as testified they minded not to do the rebels much harm. Only the three Lothians were very active in and about the time of the skirmish, and after, in the flight, took many more than Dalzell's men did, and killed severals also in their escaping; for which they may look for a scourge in due time for their savage cruelty, from him in whose sight the blood of the saints is precious. *

Baidland, and of Alexander Porterfield, Quarellton's brother, for which Sir George promises to be cautioner for a limited time. In another letter to Hay, not intended for "public use," Sir George tells him, "this I understand, that, besides the 20,000 merks in it (the public letter) expressed, *you shall have, for your pains to get it done*, 5000 *merks*." (MSS. Adv. Lib. No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 79.)

* On this occasion, the influence of some of their clergy was not wanting to inflame the minds of the people. Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Libberton, it appears, had been very violent in his declarations from the pulpit, particularly by applying to the insurgents the following words of the prophet: "*They shall pass through it hardly bestead and hungry, and it shall come to pass, that, when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward.*" Cant, in a reply to Mr. John Nevay, who had remonstrated with him on his conduct, says:—"That place of Isa. viii. 21. I did indeed accommodat to the west countrie men the Sabbath immediately preceding theire defeat, and though Naphtalis blood ferment all,

The country barbarians of Lothian had good example of their chief city, Edinburgh, whose provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, with all the citizens, showed themselves very active against these poor people, that were coming eastward with no ill will against them, but to present their desires to the council, for freedom from intolerable oppression of the prelates; but these furious townsmen mind nothing of the quarrel, but in their madness and folly (to show their loyalty) puts all in arms to resist the rebels, if they should offer to enter the town; and for more security, the provost devises a new oath, causing the several captains, and their companies, to swear it to this purpose.

[———" The Lord provost presented ane act of privie counsell for securing the toun, conforme whereto the wholl capitanes, except Capitan Bell, who is not in ye cuntrie, took ye oath that they should be trew and faithfull to ye king, and that they should defend his authority, and maintain

even to the bringing his rayling accusation against me for this, and yow ar pleased to refer me to the Dutch annotations for the right meaning of the text, I find no reason to repent what I spoke, the hand of God without all peradventure being in it, for before I went up I made accompt of saying nothing like." (A. Cant to John Nevay, Libberton, October —68, and Edinburgh, November 18, —68: Wodrow MSS. No. lix. Jac. V. 1, 26, art. 7.)

the same against this insurrectione and rebellion, and any other that shall happen with the haiseard of their lives and fortuns, and the counsell appoynted the respective capitans to take the oathes of the rest of the officers and wholl souldiers, as lykwayes conforme to the said order, the counsell appoynts sex companies to keep watch night and day by turns."*]

But with all this preparation, they had no more to do but receive the prisoners of that honest, though broken, party, who were brought in that night after the defeat by Dalyell's men, having their hearts broken with the reproaches and blasphemies which these jeering atheists spued out

* In the MS. a blank is left for taking in the oath. What is inclosed in brackets is extracted from the Records of Town Council, November 21, 1666.

In the month of May following, when a Dutch squadron appeared in the firth of Forth and fired into Leith, the writer of the History in which Wallace's Narrative is embodied, says, " The men of Edinburgh went downe in companies to defend Leith, but they loved not General Dayell his command, who yet, for as wicked as he was, could cast up to them their naughtiness. ' When your countrey folks (sayes hee to them) the Whigs were up, ye were busie then who might run fastest; but now when the common enemie appeirs, yee cannot be gotten out of your houses.' Thus he; and that not without cause, for the alarm cam at ten o'clock at night, but for all the drums beating and common bell ringing, it was the morrow at 4 o'clock in the morning ere any of them came to Leith. Indeed, in the other case, when those honest people came to Colintoune, they raged like mad men; but heer they wer tame enough."—(MS. *ut supra,* p. 271.)

against God, godliness, religion, and all fear of God, by the way as they came in, naked, and many bleeding in their wounds. The dead were spoiled of their clothes, and laid naked before the moon by night and the sun by day, by the soldiers and the barbarians of Lothian, as if the victory had been gotten over Turks; but the godly women of Edinburgh came out the morrow with winding sheets, and buried them. Yet worthy Mr. Crookshank's body was not found among them, nor yet M'Cormick's. Report went for a year after, that Mr. Crookshanks was yet alive; but thereafter it was concluded, that there was no truth in it.

The town received the prisoners, which the godly people of the town esteemed the saddest sight that ever Edinburgh had seen, which drew tears in abundance from the eyes of all that feared God, considering what vast difference there was between the persons and the cause on the one side and the other; and surely a most astonishing dispensation it was, to see a company of holy men (for such were the greatest part, yea, but few otherwise) and that in a good cause, given up into the hands of a most desperate crew of scoffing, prophane atheists. But God had called them together (it seems) to have a testimony at their hands; and that he missed not, for he helped them to glorify him in their sufferings, which made their cause more lovely

throughout all parts of the land, even in the eyes of enemies and neutrals, than their victory would have done.

The provost caused imprison them all together in an old kirk called Haddow's Hole, where the charity of the godly people of the town appeared in furnishing them with all necessaries, both for maintenance and the healing of their wounds. There were about fifty prisoners; but by accession of these whom the Lothian barbarians had taken, there were within two or three days after about eighty prisoners. The chief whereof were captain Andrew Arnot,* brother to the laird of Lochridge in Stewarton of Cunninghame, taken by some wicked men of Tranent; Mr. Alexander Robison, treacherously betrayed by the laird of Morton after he had delivered his arms upon treaty, to let him go freely where he pleased;† Mr.

* The Parliament in 1649 appointed "Captain Andro Arnot to be Root-master" to the troop of horse in the sheriffdom of Fife and Kinross, commanded by Lord Elcho.—(Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 389, 392.) He subscribed the protestation against the meetings of the General Assembly, in 1651 and 1652, which approved of the Public Resolutions.—(Representation—and Protestation, p. 18.) In 1661, "Captaine Arnot in Lochrig" was fined along with others, to repair the injuries sustained by the Earl of Queensberry and his son in 1650. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 96.)

† The person who apprehended Robison was Sir John Gibson of Pentland, (second son of President Durie) who "possessed all and sundrie the lands of Mortoun and Mortoun-hall." (Act.

Hugh M'Kell, son to Mr. Matthew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, taken also by the country people about

Parl. Scot. viii. 273.) He was one of the clerks of Session; and that he was alive at the time here referred to, appears from the following act of sederunt respecting his son. June 20th 1676, the Lords "nominated Mr. Alexander Gibson to continue in that chamber, wherein his father and he does serve." (Acts of Sederunt, p. 125.)

Two persons of the name of Robison, or Robertson, are mentioned in this narrative. The one accompanied Colonel Wallace from Edinburgh, left him on the way to the west, and never joined the party in arms. Kirkton calls him Mr. Alexander Robison. (Hist. p. 234, 236.) The other was taken by the laird of Morton and executed at Edinburgh. That he was a different person from the former appears from his trial. "The assize unanimously, in one voice—finds—Mr. Alexander Robertsone to be guilty of ryseing and joyning in arms with the rebells, and that he was one of those that went to Dumfries and seized on Sir James Turner, and that he went alongst with the rebells to Aire, and that he was at Lanark, and took the covenante with the rest of that party there, and came allongst with them to Collingtoune and Pentland hills; and that he was in armes at the conflict with Captaine Arnote against his Majesties forces, and that he had a drawen sword there and discharged his pistols in the fight."—(Samson's Riddle, 36, 37.) He addressed the following letter to Captain Arnot, probably on the morning of the latter's execution: "Dear Friend, now in tears, bot ere long in joy, I drink this cup to you: but the cup of salvation will be your draught ere long. I have had much libertie for you this night. Run the race with courage; make stepping stones of your wife and children; it is an excellent change and niffer you are to make: Insteed of the wife of your bosome, handsome and heartsome, enjoyment of Christ without intermission; instead of peace with the world, peace with God, and peace of conscience which will give you the true enjoyment of just peace with God. You are credited with that which hath been the desire of precious godly men, and

Braidscraigs. All these three were put up in the tolbooth. Thomas Paterson, merchant of Glasgow, died in Haddow's Hole of his wounds, within four or five days after; and the provost having caused instruments be taken that he was dead, some honest men in the town caused warn their neighbours to the burial privately; lest if Burnet, bishop of Glasgow, had got notice, he should have impeded his burial, or done some violence to his corpse. Thus was his body buried honestly in the Greyfriars, which was no sooner interred, than the said bishop sent to the grave, and thereupon protested, that the said Thomas Paterson, rebel, his dying unforfaulted

yet the Lord wold not make use of them as vessels to pour such liquor into; and he hath chosen you. O give him thanks! O praise, O blesse, blesse, blesse him! Ye have the forestart of me; O if I were counted worthie! Noe more, being in hast, but leaves you to him who will wype away all tears from your eyes with the napkin of pardoning mercie.

I rest,

Your's in Christ,

Alex. Robertson, with you in prison."

The letter is addressed "For his dear friend, in the same bonds with me, (though I be not credited with the same work) Captain Arnot." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 63.)—Captain Arnot was executed on the 7th of December, 1666. Mr. Alexander Robertson was tried on the 10th, and executed on the 14th of the same month.

of life and estate, might not prejudge his Majesty of the escheat of his goods, moveables, and all that appertained unto him.*

* Judging from internal marks, I am of opinion that Colonel Wallace's Narrative ends with the description of the battle; but I have thought it proper to continue the account to the place where the first distinct break in the manuscript occurs.

END OF WALLACE'S NARRATIVE.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING SUPPRESSED AT BOTHWELL BRIDGE;

WRITTEN BY

JAMES URE OF SHARGARTON:

WITH

NOTICES OF THE WRITER.

NOTICES

OF

JAMES URE OF SHARGARTON.

The lands of Shargarton lie in the parish of Kippen, and are described sometimes as in Stirlingshire, and at other times as in Perthshire. In 1485, king James III. granted the lands of "Easter Leckie and Shargarton" in Stirlingshire, to Andrew, Lord Evandale, in liferent, and to Alexander Stewart, his nephew, in fee.* Robert, master of Mar, obtained from James V., in 1541, a charter to "the lands of Shirgarton," in the stewartry of Monteith, and shire of Perth. The Earl of Mar disponed them in 1597, to Buchanan of Arnprior, from whom they came into the family of Ure sometime between 1619 and 1644.† In the last-mentioned year, and in

* Crawfurd's Renfrew, 228.

† Fountainhall's Decis. ii. 262, 263. Inquis. Retor. Perth, Nos. 33, 316, 442. Inq. Valor. ii. De Tutela, 458.

1647, James Ure of Shargarton was one of the committee of war for the sheriffdom of Perth.* It is probable that this gentleman was the father of the writer of the subsequent narrative. His mother must have been twice married, as Mr. Peter Rollo (or Rollock) is mentioned, in a document to be quoted, as her son, and brother to James Ure of Shargarton. The latter married Elizabeth, daughter of William Montgomery of Macbeth-hill, a descendant of Lord Montgomery.†

An account of Ure's sufferings has been preserved in manuscript, which I shall give entire, in the way of adding to it other particulars which I have met with.‡ It is introduced with a description of the state of the parish of Kippen and its neighbourhood before the rising at Bothwell.

"From the year of our Lord 1670, (says the writer of that paper) constant troubles and sufferings attended the preaching of the gospel by the presbyterian ministers about Kippen, Gargunnock, and Monteith, where Mr. John Law, Mr. Thomas

* Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 134, 278, 301.

† Douglas, Baronage, 524. William Montgomery (the father-in-law of Ure) was served heir to his grandfather, Adam Montgomery of Macbiehill, within the parish of Stewarton, and bailliary of Cunninghame, July 27, 1655. (Inq. Retor. Ayr, 478: comp. No. 658, and Gen. 3982.)

‡ This MS. was in the possession of Wodrow, who has extracted the principal facts in it; (Hist. ii. 260, 261;) but the whole deserves publication.

Forrester, (having now left the episcopal communion,) and several other ministers did preach to the people, and Mr. John King (who was executed) was clandestinely ordained minister at Port, Mr. Archibald Riddell at Kippen, and Mr. George Barclay at Gargunnock. A meeting was frequently kept at Arnmanwell in Kippen, where one John Knox (a man of the same family with the great reformer) did zealously manage and help forward the work of the Lord; but a party of soldiers are sent out to impede the conventicles (as they were then called) thereabouts, and the meetings in that country are by them frequently scattered, the people taken and harassed. A small party of soldiers are sent from Stirling disguised, to take Mr. King, then at Cardross, and bring him in, and having apprehended him, the alarm is raised through Monteith and Kippen; the people rise to rescue him; the soldiers find it unsafe for them to carry him through either of these straths,* therefore they take him east the mosses; the people see them, gather from the east side of Forth, and take him from the soldiers in the moss be— south Boquhaple, in which action one Norrie is killed by the soldiers. The people, for attending these meetings, were apprehended, some sent to Stirling, Glasgow, &c. and thence sent abroad; among whom one Donald Connell in Buchlivie is

* Valleys.

taken, with several others, at a preaching by Mr. Riddell, at Lochleggan, carried to Stirling, where they lay some time in prison, and thence to Edinburgh, and shipped at Leith to be carried abroad, but providentially rescued at London. Others were fined; their horse, cows, and other goods poinded and carried to Doune, by Drummond of Denstone, who was then judge in that place. The people in that country being thus daily oppressed, and hearing of the rising of the people in the west on that same account, in the year 1679, many of them choose rather to join them, than live still under these pressures; which accordingly they did to the number of fourteen score and above.

"Among whom was James Ure of Shargarton. Having left the Episcopal communion and joined the persecuted ministers, and baptized his children with them, he was also exposed to the rage of the government; and soldiers are frequently sent to his house. The curate, Mr. Robert Young, at Kippen is much blamed as an intelligencer against him and others. And the said James Ure being thus driven from his house and family, he chooses to go and join the west country men, rather than be still in these sad circumstances. Coming to them some time before Bothwell Bridge, all his countrymen join themselves to him as their captain; and he and they are set to keep the bridge-end, where he stayed, maintaining the place courageously, till the army fled. Several of his men are killed,

(who lie there buried,) and cannons are discharged, and then he narrowly escaped by the care of a faithful servant who kept his horse. Of his company some are killed, others escape, many are taken prisoners and carried to the Greyfriar's yard, Edinburgh. Witnesses are cited to prove the said James Ure his being in arms there, and this being deponed before the council, he is forfeited as to lands and moveables."

He was tried in the beginning of the year 1682. In November preceding, the privy council granted warrant to Sir George Mackenzie, his Majesty's advocate, to proceed judicially against forty-six persons in the shires of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Ayr, for being in the rebellion at Bothwell. The trial took place on the 9th of January, when the advocate insisted only against twenty-two, of whom Ure was the first-named. The tenor of the indictment (which has not been published) deserves notice, as a specimen of that odious system of exaggeration and aggravation, which Sir George Mackenzie introduced into criminal proceedings. The pannels are charged with the murder of two soldiers, although none of them was ever suspected of that crime; and no attempt was made to bring forward evidence on that head; nor are the names of the soldiers, or of the companies to which they belonged, given. With the same view the assassination of the Archbishop of St. Andrews is introduced. They are also

charged as accessory to the conduct of Mr. Richard Cameron at Sanquhar and Aird's Moss, and to the excommunication pronounced by Mr. Donald Cargill at Torwood; although it was notorious, that Ure and those tried along with him were decidedly opposed to the proceedings of these two ministers. But let the indictment speak for itself.

"It is of veritie that the saids James Ure of Shergartoun—and the other persons above named, shaking off all fear of God, conscience, and sense of duty, allegeance, and loyaltie to the king's Majesty, their soveraigne and native prince, most perfidiouslie and treasonablie presumed, in cold blood, and in the night tyme, upon the
day of Apryl, 1679, to murder and kill
a souldier in Captain
company, and left another of the saids souldiers for dead. And John Balfour of Kinloch, David Hackstoun of Rathillet, and others, having, upon the third day of May the said year, killed and murdered his Grace, James late Archbishop of St. Andrews, they, to escape justice, and involve others in their guilt, went unto the westerne shyres, and most treasonablie joyned in armes with the persons above named and others, their dissolut and flagitious accomplices, under the command of Robert Hamiltoun, brother to the laird of Prestoun; and upon the twentie nynth day of the same moneth of May, a day appoynted for a solemn thanskgiving for his Majestie's restaura-

tion to the royall government of this kingdome, did goe to the burghe of Rutherglene, and there most proudly and treasonablie joyned in armes with the persons above named and others, their dissolut and flagitious accomplices, under the command of Robert Hamiltoun, brother to the laird of Prestoun; and having with them read acts of their own coyning, they most treasonablie and wickedlie burnt several acts of parliament, asserting his Majestie's prerogatives, and establishing the government of the church, drowned out bonefyres sett on in commemoration of that day. And thereafter they and their rebellious associats, to the number fyve or sex hundreth, did way-lay a fewe and small number of men, under the command of the laird of Claverhouse, and did most treasonablie and cruellie kill and murder some of his Majestie's souldiers under his command. Lyke as upon the day of June therafter, they did most treasonablie attack and assault a small partie of his Majestie's forces within the toun of Glasgow, under the command of the Lord Rosse and laird of Claverhouse, by whose prudence and government these nottor, oppen, and manifest rebells wer repulsed; and yet being encouraged with promises of men, horse, money, and armes from others of their treasonable accomplices, they did swell and growe to the number of ten or twelve thousand, and they and the persons above named, marched up and downe the coun-

trey, throwe the shyres of Lanerk, Aire, Renfrewe, Stirlin, Dumbartoun, and others, in warelike and military powster, robbing and pillageing his Majestie's good subjects, searching for horse, armes, powder, ball, and other instruments of ware, quartering upon, and oppressing his Majestie's leidges and people: And they and their accomplices did mantaine, supplie, comfort, and defend Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Samuel Arnot, and others, forfaulted and declaired rebells for the rebellion 1666; did supplie, shelter, and protect the impious, horrid, and sacralegious murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews. And they and their accomplices, to the number of nyn or ten thousand, marched towards Bothwel Bridge and Hamiltoun Muir, wher they did take the boldness to issue proclamations and prent declarations, bearing the treasonable grounds of ther rebellion; and not content therewith, they and their rebellious accomplices presumed to modell themselves, and take the name of ane army, formeing and frameing themselves in troups, companys, and regiments, nameing colonells of regiments, captains of companys, commanders of troups, and other officers under the command of the said Robert Hamiltoun, John Balfour of Kinloch, the deceast David Hackstoun of Rathillet, and others, the impious and bloodie murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews; and they and their accomplices did incamp themselves at Hamiltoun

Muir for several dayes together, in June 1679, and obstinatlie continued in armes, makeing detachments for rifleing and plundering of the countrey, to make provision for ther rebellious camp. And notwithstanding of ane proclamation issued forth by his Majestie's privie councill, declairing the said insurrection to be ane horred and manifest rebellion and hye treason, and commanding these rebells to desist and lay doun ther rebellious armes, yet they did most treasonablie continue and abyd in armes, did beat parlies be drum, and did take the boldnes and presumption to send their commissioners to the royal camp, and treasonablie did requyre the subversion and overturning of the government of the church, proudlie and insolentlie boasting of ther treasonable and (as ther commissioners wer pleased to call them) formidable armes, in which they most treasonablie continued untill the twentie second day of the said moneth of June 1679; that his Majestie's forces did attack and assault them at Bothwelbridge, wher by God's blessing upon his Majestie's armes, and be the valour and conduct of James, Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth, his Majestie's generall, and officers and souldiers under him, their numerous and rebellious army was dissipat, routed, and vanquished. To the whilk rebellion the said John Gardner mounted and sent out two horsemen, well appoynted, viz. John Forrest and

And the persons above named

having fled and made their escape, they and the bloodie and sacralegious murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews marched in parties, and in warelike powster, up and down the countrey, in the shyres of Dumfries, Wigtoun, Aire, and stewartrie of Kirkcudbright, quartering upon and oppressing his Majestie's good subjects, robbing and rifleing their goods and houses. And upon the twentie second day of June 1680, they and the deceast Mr. Richard Cameron hade the boldnes and confidence to come to the burghe of Sanquhar, and at the marcat croce of the same, after singing of psalmes, did declaire the Kings Majestie ane tyrran and usurper; did proclaime and denunce ware against him, and all who serve under or yeald any obedience to him. And accordinglie, upon the day of July therefter, the deceast Mr. Richard Cameron, David Hackstoun of Rathilet, and the haill persons above named, and their accomplices, did assault and attack a small partie of his Majestie's forces at Ayres Mosse, under the command of the laird of Earleshall, did feight, resist, and oppose them, killed and wounded several of them, untill at length they wer dissipat and defate, the said Mr. Ritchard Cameron being killed upon the place, and David Hackstoun of Rathilet and others taken prisoners. Lykeas the persons above named wer present at the treasonable excommunication used by Mr. Donald Cargill against the King's Majes-

tie at Torewood, upon the day of

In doeing wherof, or ane or other of the saids deeds, the said James Ure of Shirgartoun, and the other persons above named, have committed and incurred the crymes and paines of treason above mentioned, and are actors art and part therof, which being found by ane assyse, they ought to be punished with forfaulture of lyff, land, and goods, to the terror of others to committ the like hereafter, as in the saids criminal letters and dittay above specified, insert therintill at more lenth is contained."

The sum of the proof led against Ure is contained in the following deposition:—"William Millar, boatman at Frewe—about a fourth night or ten dayes befor the defeat at Bothwelbridge, in June, 1^{m} vi^{c} and seventie nyn, he saw James Ure of Shirgartoun, whom he knewe verie well, ryding in to Glasgowe on a whitt horse, armed with sword and pistolls, and a partie of the rebells, consisting of the number of tuentie or thereby at his back on foot, and some of them hade swords and guns and some not." The assize having "found all sufficiently proven" against the pannels, "as being in rebellion with the rest of the rebels at Bothwell bridge, and other places, in June 1679 years," the Lords, on the 17th of January, "adjudge them to be executed to the death as traitors, when they shall be apprehended—their names, memory, and honours to be ex-

tinct—that their posterity may never have place nor be able hereafter to bruik or joyse any honour, office, &c. and to have forfaulted—all and sundry their lands, heritages, tenements, &c. to our sovereign Lord, to remain perpetually with his highness."*

The account of Ure, in the manuscript formerly quoted, proceeds as follows: "A lion-herald is sent to his house to charge him to appear; arrests laid on his rents and goods; he is intercommuned, and never got his bed kept three nights for nine years, for parties of soldiers are sent to his house above thirty times; dragoons lie sometimes whole weeks about his house; his corns, and those of his tenants, and their other goods, are wasted by them. His tenants provide the rents, being mostly victual, but dare not pay them to his lady because of the arrest, but secretly told her they were ready, and she sent some persons and took them, as it had been at their own hand, and brought them to her to help to maintain her family.

"About this time there is a preaching at a place there called the Gribloch, for being at which many were apprehended, among whom were the old lady Shargarten, a gentlewoman of seventy years, a son of hers called Mr. Peter Rollo, Margaret Macklum, wife to one Arthur Dougall, miller at Newmiln there, a very godly man, and many others.

* Records of the Court of Justiciary, for January 9th and 17th 1682; in the Register House.

They are carried to Glasgow tolbooth, above sixteen miles, and there thronged together in the prison. The said old gentlewoman falls ill, petitions for liberty, or leave at least to win to the prison doors for air: it could not be granted, and so she died there in the crowd. The rest of the prisoners are carried to Dunnotter castle, where they continued some time in misery not to be mentioned, and afterwards several of them are shipped to be sent abroad, among whom Margaret Philip, wife to the said Donald Connell, was one, who was set on land at Leith by the skipper for money.

" The mean time a proclamation is issued out, offering L.100 sterling to any that will bring in the said James Ure dead or alive, upon which he flies for Ireland. Notice is gotten of it, and an order sent to the soldiers at Greenock or Longdyke to search the ships for him there. One Methven that knew him, is sent from Kippen, by Mr. Robert Young curate there, as was alleged and the said Methven afterwards owned. Methven gets a soldier's coat on him, goes with the soldiers in the search to let them know Shargarten; but it was so ordered in providence that he was not in the ships, but in a house near by, when the search was made, and so he escaped to Ireland where he stayed half a year, and then turning anxious to see his lady and children, he adventures home again. But in the mean time his friends buy up his forfeiture for a sum then

agreed on in law. Coming home in the night, his lady keeps him so quiet in a room, that for many weeks none knew of it. At last she proves with child, and then the rumour goes that he is at home, and now parties are sent to apprehend him. So he and she lie several weeks in the wood of Boquhan all night that year that king Charles died. The cold was so great that the clothes would been frozen together about them when they awoke; and at day-break he retired to a tenant's house called Duncan Christall, at the moor-end, and was hid in a place made beyond a corn mow, and she came to her house. But after this a party is sent to apprehend the lady, for going to conventicles and conversing with her husband, now intercommuned. They carry her with a child on her breast to Stirling, (where she is kept fourteen days,) and then to the Canongate tolbooth, Edinburgh, where she lies prisoner fourteen days. Her friends bring her out on bail, to present her before the Lords when called, and give bond to do it under pain of 2000 merks. She is called to attend the council, which she did with her child in her arms; but by the interposition of Blairdrummond, chamberlain to the Earl of Perth, she is dismissed and not brought into the council. Her husband proves anxious about her, and adventures in disguise into Edinburgh, where to his great joy he found she was dismissed, and so he returned, keeping himself under hiding till king James's Indulgence. He used frequently to dream

of the soldiers coming on him in the night, and whenever he awoke he would get up and fly; and, accordingly, in a little the soldiers would have come, and finding the clothes warm, would have raged exceedingly, and carried the master of the house prisoner with them. At the Revolution he went in to Edinburgh, with severals with him, to guard the convention of estates, where his forfeiture is declared null, and his name stands there among others who had been unjustly forfeited; yet he behoved in gratitude to pay his friends the sum they had in kindness to his family advanced in buying his forfeiture before. He goes with a company to Argyle's regiment then listed, and being made his captain-lieutenant, he continued therein till the national troubles were all over; for which Cannon and Buchan, with a party, coming down on Kippen, and burning several pieces of my Lord Cardross' lands in Carden, they also attacked his [Ure's] house, which his lady did manfully keep out against them; but his goods and those of his tenants are carried off by them. He was active in the time of the Toleration,* in conjunction with Boquhan and Glentirran, for building the meeting-house at Glentirran, with a good manse, to Mr. George Barclay who preached; and the whole people went to that place, none staying with the curates but some few Jacobite lairds and their adherents.

* This refers to the Toleration granted by James II. in 1687.

He outlived the late rebellion, [in 1715,] and saw the providence of God, in making some drops of the cup his persecutors had meted out to him passing over to themselves. One thing was remarkable about him in his hiding: the curate, Mr. Young, had gotten a piece of his ground, called the Half-acre, annexed to his glebe, and he had no access to appear to defend his right; but one morning in harvest he gathers his tenants, shears the ground, and leads home the victual to his own house. But the government made him pay well for it. He continued zealous to his principles against the Jacobite lairds and the curates to the last, with whom he had many encounters. He was kind to the sick; and after all his troubles died in peace in his own house, being much lamented by all the good people that had been acquaint with him."*

I have little to add to the facts contained in the above paper. In the year 1689, Ure was a captain of militia, and in the following year was appointed a commissioner of supply, for the shire of Perth.† He had a son of the same name with himself, who was a writer to the signet, and alive in 1710.‡ In 1748 the property was held by John

* MS. in Advocates Library: No. xxxvii. Rob. III. 3, 12, art. 147.

† Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 27, 141.

‡ Fountainhall's Decis. ii. 602. This refers to a process against him by Mr. Michael Potter, who was admitted minister of Kippen in 1700. (Ib. 424.) The presbytery of Dunblane had designed as part of a glebe, half an acre of Shargarton's lands. He pleads

Ure, brother and representative of James Ure deceased.* On the 17th of July 1756, James Ure received a disposition of the lands of Shirgartoun, in which a certain line of substitutes was settled; and he granted, of the same date, a separate obligation, whereby he bound himself "not to sell nor contract debt, nor do any other deed whereby the lands of Shirgartoun may be any ways affected." Nevertheless he afterwards disponed them gratuitously to the Earl of Crawfurd and Hugh Crawfurd; but on the suit of Mary Ure, "his heir after his death," the Lords of Session reduced the disposition.†

The subsequent narrative was probably drawn up by Ure when he was under concealment, not with any view to publication, but to give information to friends, and to correct certain false statements which were then circulated. As he took a very active part in the unhappy disputes which he details, and wrote from memory and in circumstances which prevented him from consulting with others who were at Bothwel, it is natural to suppose that he would fall into some mistakes. A copy of his narrative came into the hands of Robert Hamilton, who wrote remarks on it. These are preserved, and such of them as relate to mat-

that his ground "was not kirk-lands, but held few of the Foresters of Kilmore." (Ib.)——Forrester of Kilmore was tried along with Ure in 1682. (Record of Justiciary, *ut supra.*)

* Dict. of Decisions, p. 13,964. † Ibid. p. 4315.

ters of fact, and contain corrections of any importance, will be found in the notes subjoined to the narrative.

Mr. Robert Hamilton was a gentleman of good family, being brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, to whose title and estates he would have succeeded, on his death, at the Revolution, if he had not refused to own, or rather had not openly disowned, the authority of William and Mary. He appears to have been a pious man and of good intentions, but of narrow views, severe in his temper, and altogether unqualified, by want of military talents and experience, for the command which he assumed, or which was conferred on him by the small body which proved successful in the skirmish at Drumclog. He is charged, and apparently not without reason, with having been active in pushing Cargill, Cameron, and some other ministers, to those extremes which produced a breach between them and their brethren, with whom they had until of late acted in concert. This dissension was a main cause of the failure of the present attempt to redress national grievances. Hamilton and his party acted on the principle, that it was unlawful to associate, for vindicating their civil and religious rights, with any but those with whom they could join in church-communion; or, which amounts to the same thing, that it behoved them to introduce into the state of their quarrel, as appearing in arms,

a condemnation of every thing in relation to the public interests of religion which was sinful or unscriptural; a principle which, while it involved them in that very confounding of civil and ecclesiastical matters against which they inveighed so loudly under the name of Erastianism, tended to rivet the chains of servitude on themselves and the nation. Into this error they appear to have been betrayed partly by mistaken notions of the controversy which had formerly arisen respecting the Public Resolutions. What the more honest party at that period opposed was, the admitting to places of power and trust of such as had shown by their previous conduct that they were enemies to the reformation introduced into church and state, and would use the power intrusted to them to overturn it. This could not be said of those who had accepted of or acquiesced in the Indulgence, and still less of those whom Hamilton's friends wrangled with so fiercely, who protested solemnly that they disapproved of the Indulgence, and whose former conduct vouched for the sincerity of their protestations. Another remark is suggested by the facts here referred to. If ministers of the gospel would preserve their usefulness and respectability, they must guard their independence on the side of the people as well as of civil rulers. Provided they become "the servants of men," it matters not much whether their masters wear a crown or a bonnet; and if, instead of going before

the people to point out to them the path of duty, and checking them when they are ready to run into extremes, they wait to receive directions from them, and suffer themselves to be borne along by the popular stream, the consequences cannot fail to be fatal to both. Firm and tenacious of his purpose, the servant of the Lord, while gentle to all, ought to hold on the even tenor of his way, unmoved equally by the frown of the tyrant, the cry of the multitude, and the dictates of forward individuals, good and well-meaning men it may be, but who "cannot see afar off," and just need the more to be led that they think themselves capable of being leaders. An opposite conduct on the part of two or three ministers tended to foster those extravagant opinions and practices adopted by some presbyterians at this period, which discredited the cause for which they appeared, and which their best friends, though they may excuse, will not be able to defend, and should not seek to vindicate.

END OF THE NOTICES OF JAMES URE.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING AT BOTHWEL BRIDGE,

BY

JAMES URE OF SHARGARTON.*

I WENT to Rugland [Rutherglen] upon the Lord's day, [June 8, 1679,] about the first preaching going to, which was the Sabbath after Loudon hill,† and when I came there, one Mr. Kemp was preaching, and one Mr. Douglas preached afternoon. They spoke much against the Indulgence and the defection of the time. The rest of

* In the MS. it has the following title:—"A true relation of the late affairs in the west, given by a person of very good credit, who was eare and eye witnesse and actor in the westland forces. This is Shergetonn's account." (MSS. Adv. Lib. No. lx. Jac. V. 1, 10, art. 110.)

† The skirmish at Loudon Hill or Drumclog happened on Sabbath, the 1st of June, 1679.

the ministers were preaching too; for there was a very great convention of people there from the country and Glasgow. Our forces about this time were about two thousand foot and seven troops of horse.* They were commanded by Robert Hamilton, as general, and by one Henderson, Paton,† Ross,‡ Cleland,§ and Weir; ‖ the horse by Bal-

* "We were betwixt 5000 and 6000 horse and foot, drawn up on the moor besouth Glasgow the Saturday night before, (June 7,) all as on man and of on mynd, to own the Rugland testimony against all its opposers." (Robert Hamilton's Notes on Ure's Narrative.) Hamilton's notes are afterwards marked R. H.

† *Henderson* and *Paton* are mentioned before, p. 40, 302.

‡ *Alexander Ross,* major in the rebels' army, was, on the 19th of July, 1680, convicted, on his own confession, of having been at Bothwell, and condemned to be executed, but reprieved on his agreeing to take the oaths and bond. (Wodrow, ii. 116.)

§ *William Cleland* has been mentioned already, p. 108. In November 1680, he was sick in Holland. (MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. lix. Jac. V. 1, 26, art. 138.) James Nimmo, who had been under concealment since the battle of Bothwell, came from Berwick in 1685 to take a passage, along with his family, to Holland. "The ship (says he) was lying at Bruntisland, and we went first night to Leith and took a passage boat next day, some friends accompanying us; and when we came over, there were four of Argyle's captains in the house whereto we went that were in the same circumstances, viz. William Cleiland, John Fullerton, James Bruce, and John Campbell, who were singing and making merry as they could, that they might not be discovered; and so passing that day, the 23d of November, about 11 at night, we went aboard. Upon the 4th of December we landed at Amsterdam in health and safety." (Life of James Nimmo, written by himself for his own satisfaction, MS. p. 127, 128.)

‖ *Thomas Weir.*—"August 3, 1682. There was sent in from the Duke of Hamiltoune some petitions addressed to him by rebels, viz. Thomas Weir in Greerig," &c. (Act. Secr. Concil.) From a

four, Hackstoun, Mr. Walter Smith, and Mr. Kemp, as I suppose, had also a troop of horse. There went with me first about fifty-two men well armed.

After sermon Mr. Barclay took me in where Robert Hamilton and the rest of the ministers were going to supper. They made me very welcome, and in our discourse they were inquiring if there were any more to come out of our country. I told them, that we heard that Cameron was here, and that was the stay; and if he had been, I would have presently returned; but if we had known that Mr. Welsh and Mr. Barclay* had been here, we would have been upward of two hundred men. Robert Hamilton spake nothing against me; but he and his faction kept an eye still upon me, and afterwards they told me, that Cameron was in Holland; and I prayed God, that all his faction were with him. I went back to Glasgow

preceding part of that minute it appears that lenity was to be shown to such only as were "content to take the test." Greenrigg is in the Duke of Hamilton's retour; (Lanark, 149, 239;) and Weir was probably a feuar.

* See before, p. 313, 319. Mr. George Barclay preached for some time in the fields both in the east and west of Scotland. (Wodrow, i. 436. Walker's Peden, p. 79, 91, 95. Rem. Passages, p. 150.) In the beginning of 1679 he was taken at a search in Edinburgh, but escaped. (Wodrow, ii. 14.) On the toleration in 1687 he preached at Glentirran, in a meeting-house erected for the accommodation of the parishes of Kippen and Gargunnock, and after the Revolution became minister of Uphall, where he continued upwards of twenty years, greatly respected. (Statist. Account of Scotland, (Kippen,) vol. xviii. p. 331. Life of Alexander Reid, p. 26, 66.)

that night, and so did a regiment of foot and four troops of horse. Upon the morrow, [Monday, the 9th,] they came all into the town, and so we stayed till the day at night. They marched two miles to a park towards Hamilton, where we abode. I abode that night in the town myself; for that day that they marched, there came to me from our country upwards of seven score, for the most part well armed: these that wanted I got them pikes, so that our company was upward of two hundred well appointed, two parts with guns, and the third part with pikes. There was at first several that wanted arms, (near to thirty,) but they were still slipping away home, so as we had arms enough ere all was done.

They kept a very strict guard that night in the town; and there was a knave in the town, a finer of wool, who came to the captain of the guard, and told him, he knew of one who had several arms hid in his house. He gave him four persons to go with him and see. When they came, he caused them stand at the door. He went into one Walkingshaw's house, and drew his sword and threatened to kill him, if he would not give him two dollars, the which he gave him; and when he returned, he said, he [Walkingshaw] had put them away. Upon the morrow, he knowing whose men they were, came to me and told me all, and if he had sought 100 dollars he behoved to have given them. I thought

very much shame, because they were my men, and because of my relation to his wife. I intreated him to find him out, the which he did; and when I got him, I got but one dollar with him, for he had drunk the other. I delivered it back and carried him bound with me to Hamilton. The day that the butcher was shot, his lugg was nailed to the gallows.* We went all to Hamilton, and

* Speaking of this gallows, Swift, in his *Memoirs of Captain Creighton*, says, "The rebels *had set it up* in the middle of their camp,—in order to hang up the king's soldiers." This gratuitous and improbable supposition has been since repeatedly brought forward by writers of a certain description, as if it were founded on undoubted evidence. All the contemporary writers who mention the gallows speak of it as a matter of course, in the same way as they would do of any other post or monument which marked a particular spot. Blackader says the prisoners, after the battle, "were all gathered together about *a gallows that stood there*." (Memoirs, p. 249.) Another account says, "Amongst the rest of the prisoners at the foot of the gallows, where we were gathered together in Hamiltone moore, after quarter was given, one man rising up in great extremitie, calling for a drink of water, was immediately shot dead by one of the soldiers." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. lx. Jac. V. 1, 10, art. 107.) The covenanters did not even make use of it as an instrument of death; for the butcher was not hung, but shot, for the murder of one of their men. There is no reason to doubt, that this was the ordinary place where criminals were executed by order of the Sheriff-court of the Lower Ward of Lanark. William Hamilton of Wishaw, having stated that the shire of Lanark anciently comprehended the whole sheriffdom of Renfrew, adds: "Because of the largeness of its extent, it was divided into two wairds, called the upper and the nether waird; and the burgh of Lanerk declared to be the head burgh of the upper waird, and Rutherglen of the nether waird. And since the dissolving of the shire of Renfrew from the sherifdome of Lanerk,

the morow, [Thursday, the 12th,] we kept a council of war, and there the butcher was brought and was condemned; for the witnesses deponed they saw him follow the man in at the close-head with a fork in his hand, which he lifted off the causeway, still crying, "Fy, hold the dog," and when he came back the man was dead. When his sentence was read to him, he called for a minister, to whom he confessed bestiality several times, but nothing as to the killing of the man, which we can all declare. Mr. Welsh, and all the ministers, and many more of us, would have had witnesses brought and his confession subscribed by him,

the burgh of Lanerk is the head burgh of the sheriffdome of Lanerk, and Rutherglen the head burgh of the nether waird thereof. About the year 1455, upon the 1st of July, the Duke of Hamilton's predecessor, then Lord Hamilton, became, by gift of King James II., heritable sheriff of the sherifedome. And by their deputes *ay synsyne* are in use to hold their sheriff courts: one at Lanerk, and *the other at Hamiltone*, as being more centrall for the nether waird than the burgh of Rutherglen. The present Sheriffe deputes are John Hamilton of Westoun, upper waird, and John Hamilton of Barncluth for the nether waird." (Description of Sheriffdom of Lanark, in Sibbald's Collections; Scots Shires: MS. Adv. Lib. M. 6, 15.) May 23, 1609. James, Marquis of Hamilton, is retoured heir of his uncle James, Earl of Arran, in "officio Vicecomitis Vicecomitatus de Lanerk, cum feodo 20 L. et aliis feodis et divoriis dicto officio pertinentibus,—baronia de Mackaneschyre unitis." (Inquis. Ret. Lanark, 88.) "Dalserfe was anciently called the baronie of Mackinshyre. —James, Duke of Hamilton, at desyre of King Charles the first, resigned that office in favour of the king, since which time the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton are only sheriffs by commission from the king." (Description of Lanark, *ut supra.)*

and sent him to Glasgow; but they would not, and so about two afternoon he was shot, and died most obdurately.*

At our council they made an act, that what officers could not discharge duty should continue *pro tempore*.† This they did when they found us dividing from them; for there were with Robert Hamilton, of his faction, one Balfour, Hackston, Paton, Henderson, Cleland, Ross, Carmichael, who lives at Winsbruch,‡ Mr. Walter Smith, § and one Fowler,‖ whom Robert Hamilton made a captain, who was once his man; of ministers, Mr. Douglas,

* "One Watson, a flesher in Glasgow, was ordained to be shot for murdering one of their brethren." (Russell's Account, appended to Kirkton's Hist. p. 457.)

† "The reason of this act was—that if better should come and own the Lord's cause, there might be a door open for their due preferment to places in the army." (R. H.)

‡ *William Carmichael* appears to have been one of six persons chosen to be officers, on the 17th of June, at Shawfield moor, and is called "old Major Carmichael," and "a ruling elder." (Wilson's Bothwell, p. 87, 93. Life of Alex. Reid, p. 38.)

§ *Mr. Walter Smith*, whose parentage and character are given by Wodrow, (Hist. ii. 186,) fought at Drumclog, and was at present clerk to the council of war. (Russell's Acco. p. 443. Wilson's Bothwell, p. 77.) After the break, having fled to Holland, (see before, p. 9,) he returned and was with Cargill at the Torwood excommunication, and finally suffered with him, 27th July, 1681. (Wodrow, *ut supra.*) He was the esteemed friend of Alexander Reid in Broxburn. (Reid's Life, p. 42, 48.)

‖ *John Fowler* is mentioned particularly in Robert Hamilton's Notes, and is probably the person who was killed at Airds Moss, July 22, 1680, and whose head was cut off by mistake for Michael Cameron's. (Walker's Rem. Passages, p. 54.)

Kemp, Cargill, Kid. For it was their intention to have put us off who owned Mr. Welsh, that they might have gotten their business carried in the council of war; for there were near as many of us as were of them, but they being at Loudon, we came only in to them, and so they kept still the command till the Galloway forces came. All the rest of the ministers were with us, and several others, [elders?] it being not needful to name them. As for Mr. King, he was still for peace-making, and was not so bent for us as he should, which I told him several times; but he still kept company with us.

The morrow we met again in the moor, about putting out a declaration. We divided about it, for they would have had the steps of defection of the church in it, expressly the Indulgence and sins of the land, king, and others. As for the king, we told them, if we owned the covenant we were bound to defend him, and that we were not his judge; and as for the indulgence, it was to come in by way of grievance and not declaration; neither were they, the indulged ministers, to be condemned until they were heard; neither were we a parliament nor general assembly. Then they would have had a day of humiliation appointed, and the reasons. We told them that the declaration was first to be done. So we left other very hot on both sides that night. Robert Hamilton sent out for me to sup with him. When I

came, there was none with him but Mr. Douglas, and Gredden * came in afterward. He was extraordinary kind to me; he inquired many things at me, but the drift of all was to see if he could have gotten me brought over. He told me how unanimous they were before the ministers came to them, and that they would do no good until they were removed, and that they were for not owning of the king, who had deprived us of the gospel and was seeking our destruction both of soul and body. I gave him no answer at all, but heard all, and afterward returned to my men, who were lying in the close, where were Mr. Welsh and the rest of the brethren for penning of the declaration. I went to him and told him all that had past, and I desired him to put forth a declaration that would give satisfaction to the multitude; for if we meddled with the king or with the indulgence, it would hinder many to come who would be as willing as we and were waiting till they saw it, and would make friends to become enemies; and no fear what Robert Hamilton and his party could do: that if he was clear therein as in the sight of God, I should stand by him as long

* George Hume of Greddin is in the proclamation against rebels. (Wodrow, ii. App. p. 27.) He was an heritor of the parish of Earlstoun. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 85.) The apprehension of "Greden Hume" was the occasion of the scuffle in which Thomas Ker of Hayhope (whose elegy was written by Colonel Cleland) was killed by Colonel Struther's party. (True Account of the cruel Murther of Thomas Ker, brother to the Laird of Chirietrees. MS. Adv. Lib. No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 175.)

as my life was in me, and so would most part of the army; and if he yielded to them, I would leave them all and go home. He told me, my advice was very refreshing to them at that nick of time. With that they were resolved * to do so,—they desired me to come to them to-morrow and I should see what they had done; and so I came, and it gave me and the army all satisfaction, except Robert Hamilton and his faction.

The morrow, [Friday the 13th,] when we met at the moor, and when it was read to them, they were offended that Mr. Douglas and the rest were not with them, and [asked] how they could take it upon them to do it without their consent. They would not hear of it, but still desired a day of humiliation to be appointed and the reasons condescended upon, which were, the steps of defection of the church since the year 1648, and sins of the land till this day. We told them, it was very needful the declaration should first be put out, because many would not stay still till they saw it, who were as willing to hazard life and lands as we. After long debating, we offered presently to depart from them, if they would not condescend to it. When they saw we was resolved they condescended, but would have in it acknowledgment of sins and engagement of duty, which abode a long debate before we condescended to it, because it could not be brought in handsomely. The rea-

* When they were resolved, &c.

son to have it in, as we thought, was to keep out gentlemen of quality till they would give satisfaction, if they had heard indulged men, or taken the bond, or paid the cess, or were hearers of curates, that they might not have been leaders in the army. Also we told them, they were more taken up with other men's sins than they were with their own, and that it were our duty first to begin with ourselves. They spake likewise of putting off of officers, and did put off him who was captain to the men who came from the east end of Stirlingshire.* But he who was made captain was also with us, for he was my comrade formerly, although he was very near related to Robert Hamilton. If he had not been very stout, (he resisted and told, who made them officers more as we, and that our men would follow none other,) they would have put us all off. We removed back again to the west end of the Monklands, to a park within four miles of Glasgow, where we abode all night. Mr. Welsh with his troop and the rest of the brethren slipped off to Glasgow, and caused print the declaration.†

* "This was not a deed of the council of war but of the soldiers themselves." (R. H.)

† "Robert Hamilton and some others condescended only to let it be proclaimed for giving them (Welsh's friends) satisfaction, upon their promise to enlarge it to our minds before it should be printed, which promise they broke. As also, Mr. King should have intimated this much at the proclaiming thereof; but instead

On the morrow [Saturday the 14th] we removed east a mile to the old kirk of Monkland, where we abode three nights. We met upon a moor every day about half a mill be-east the kirk. Robert Hamilton lay in the Hags,* and we about the kirk. While we lay here, Major Learmonth came to us in a council in the Hags, Learmonth was made lieutenant-colonel; for Robert Hamilton took nothing on him but the name of colonel, but it was rowned † to Learmonth a lieutenant general. They repented afterwards, for he sided with Welsh. Upon the Sabbath, [the 15th] when we were convened in the muir to hear sermon, they called a council of war and called the whole ministers, and told them, if they did not preach, name and sirname, against the indulgence, they should preach none. They [the ministers] thought it very hard to be kept within guard, and to be command-

of him, they, contrary to promise, caused Mr. David Hume and Mr. Welsh do it, who displeased Robert Hamilton and the rest, that had condescended to them, which ever after they regretted." (R. H.) The declaration is printed in Wodrow, ii. No. 25.

* In Old or West Monkland is "the Haggs, lately pertaining to Sir Alexander Hamilton, baronet, descended of the family of Orbistone." (Hamilton of Wishaw's description of Lanark, MS. *ut supra.*)

† Rounded, *i. e.* whispered. The meaning appears to be, that Hamilton's friends hinted privately to Learmont that he would be Lieutenant General, but that they were sorry for having done this, when they found that he took the opposite side.—"Major Learmonth came not into us till the Sabbath afternoon in time of sermon." (R. H.)

ed what to preach. They told them, they were to receive their commission from Jesus Christ what to preach, and not from them. When we heard of it, we came—for they never called us if we came not of ourselves. We told them, that it was the height of supremacy to give instructions to ministers what to preach; we would hear no such doctrine. With this confusion this day was well spent, and when they saw us own them, (the ministers) and that they could not prevail, they slipped their way; and so they went and preached, and every man went to hear him whom they liked best. At this debate there was one minister left us, and never returned again, but was a-coming upon the Monday when we were broken; for he declared to me, when he was let out without the guard, that he thought they were set to take their lives.

The morrow, [Monday the 16th,] we met again on the moor, and because of the rain we went to a barn.* We held our council. We were hugely confused; for they were angry that the declaration was printed till they had gotten more added to it, especially the indulgence and the sins

* The council met in Shawhead muir on Monday, but was adjourned to next day, on account of the great rain and the absence of the ministers and many of the officers. (Russell's Account, 400, 401. Wilson, 92.) Hamilton's notes on Ure's account of this meeting of the council contain nothing but what is printed already in Russell and Wilson.

of the times. There was one Captain Carmichael, (not he before named,) a very forward gentleman,* and Learmont, and I, that stood and told them what sort of judicatory they would be; for ought that we saw, we were come here to fight among ourselves; and if they would get their wills, we would be a reproach as long as the world stands; for we were reproached already as to what was done to king Charles the first; and for ought we saw, they intended to make the whole world our enemies. So we desired them to do what they pleased, but we would not join with them. They desired us to begone then, so we arose and would have gone out; but the guard at the door would not let us, so we went to the other end of the barn and sat down, and the rest of our company came to us. So when we were going to part, Mr. Welsh came and told them, the brethren refused to come with him, for they were of greater fear of them who were their friends than they were of their avowed enemies; but for him he had a little more courage: they might do with him what they pleased, he should be satisfied whether to be their prisoner or not. We told him, there should no body harm him, or else we should die

* This was James Carmichael, son of John Carmichael, chamberlain to the Earl of Wigton, and portioner of Little Blackburn. He was tried along with Ure, but obtained a remission, because his father "had faithfully served the king in his army at Stirling, and the battle at Worcester." (Records of Justiciary Court, January 17, 1682.)

for it, and desired him to speak his mind freely as in the sight of God; the which he did very freely, and so we left other in a great confusion. We all requested them to go leave them, and to go to Glasgow: the brethren told us they were loath to do it, for it would encourage the enemies and discourage friends, and would wholly break us, but desired us to have patience till the Galloway forces came; for we were expecting them every day. We marched after that about a long mile north from the moor towards Cumbernauld; and when they came there, they called a council of war, and we marched immediately back again the way we came to the moor, and over to Hamilton town. When they marched the same way a long time, I admired what they meant; for I was not at the council.* In this confusion five hundred horse might have broken us all, for when they marched in the night time, they were as if they had been fleeing. Our train was lying at the place of the Haggs. There went the most part of our army alongst Bothwel Bridge, and I and captain Learmonth's company followed till it was so dark that we knew not where to go; so we abode on the other side of the water for-

* "There was no council of war; but the army having marched to Airdrie without orders, they were brought back to Hamilton muir, as the place formerly condescended on for keeping the fast day." (R. H.)

gainst the Haggs all night. Our disorder this night was unspeakable; for I do really think we were 500 fewer on the morrow, partly through our division and our disorder, and the false alarm.

On the Tuesday* we met all again in the evening at Hamilton moor, and on the morrow we held another council where we were as ill as before, and a little before night we were fully resolved to separate from them. We were so hot on both sides, that we expected still to have gone by the ears. We intreated them to stand to the declaration, to let us go on against our enemy, and to let all debates alone till a free parliament and a general assembly. They told us, we were for an indulgence, and they would sheathe their swords as soon in them who owned it as they would do in many of the malignants.† We wished that we had known that sooner. We said, we told them we were not for an indulgence more nor they, and we would subscribe it if they would not believe us. Robert Hamilton told us, that they owned Cameron, and were of his judgment plainly. I arose and told Robert Hamilton, that I had

* "This was Wednesday." (R. H.)

† "R. Hamilton said, he thought it our duty to appear against all the defections of the times, and not to lay down arms (if the Lord prospered us) till our Lord were redressed of all the affronts done to him." (R. H.)

a wife and five children, and that I had a little bit of an estate, and that I was come to hazard all and my life, to get the yoke of prelacy and supremacy removed; but for ought that I saw, they intended to tyrannize over our consciences, and lead us to a worse snare nor we were into; and for my part, I would fight till the last drop of my blood before I went one step-length with them. And I told Mr. Cargill, he rendered himself odious by his naughty principles. He was very much offended with me. When they saw we were resolved to leave them, they drew by, and when they came to us they condescended to stand to the declaration, and to let all debates alone, and to give it under their hands: * so we were all glad and merry. Mr. Douglas, the first time we were in Hamilton park, on a week day in his sermon spake very bitterly against the king; and it coming in my mind, I told them I had one word to speak to the ministers. I desired them to forbear their reflecting language against the king: I repeated what he said, which is not need to set down. He denied it before Mr. Welsh, and then I would have been to have proved it; but they desired me to forbear, lest it would have raised new debates. I told them, I would hear none such doc-

* "This I remember not of; but I am sure they all denied afterwards that they condescended to such a thing." (R. H.)

trine, and that it gave offence to many: so he was very much ashamed.

It being so late, we could not get it subscribed that night: so the morrow they shifted us likeways, and on Friday, [the 20th] about ten hours, the Galloway forces came in. They would have been near 1000 horse and foot, when they were settled a little, and met all in the town; and they (Hamilton's party) met into the park. So we told the Galloway gentlemen all our debates; and when they engaged to subscribe with their hands, we did write it down, and desired them to stand to the printed declaration, and let all debates be till a parliament and general assembly. When we had done it, there was none had will to go to them with it. I desired some to go with me and I should deliver it. At length Craichly,* a Galloway gentleman, and Bankhead,† went with

* See before p. 69, 216. James Gordon of Craichlaw, younger, was forfeited, Feb. 18, 1680. (Wodrow, ii. 115.) His name is in the act of parliament, July 4, 1690, rescinding forfeitures; (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 165;) but he appears to have been dead in July 7, 1691, when William Gordoun of Craichlaw (probably his son) is retoured heir to William Gordoun of Craichlaw, his grandfather. (Inq. Ret. Kirkcudbright, p. 373.)

† It is uncertain whether this was —— Forrester of Bankhead, whose name is in the proclamation against the rebels, June 26, 1679; (Wodrow, ii. app. 27;) or Robert Lockhart of Bankhead, who was indicted at the circuit court of Ayr, June, 22, 1683, confessed his rebellion, offered to take the test, and was sentenced to be beheaded, but probably obtained a pardon. (Ib. ii. 323, 324.)

me to the park, where they were all together with their council, and I delivered it. Robert Hamilton read it and gave it to Mr. Douglas, who did write on it, and declared to me that they desired to know wherein the differences were between us, as if he had not known them; so I returned. They were all satisfied with the answer; for they gave me no answer what either they would stand to, or what they had promised the day before. The morrow we met all together in the moor, it being Saturday, [the 21st,] where we had a great council; for, of ministers and others that day, we would have been near to fifty. The ministers sat not with us but when we called them. The first thing we did was to choose a preses, for Robert Hamilton was still preses there before this. When we were voting it, Robert Hamilton started up and said, "Gentlemen, we who are not of your judgment will remove, and he that will go with me let him go." So there followed him about twelve men.* Of our number there was one John Spreul, apothecary in Glasgow,† who owned Robert Hamilton strongly, but we commanded him to be silent; so we sat still about

The name of the latter is in the act rescinding forfeitures. (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 166.)

* "There went from them eighteen officers." (R. H.)

† An account of Spreul's process, torture, and liberation from the Bass, is given by Wodrow, ii. 163, &c. 612.

sending a petition to the duke; so we drew up a draught and desired them to look at it and tell us their opinion of it. They said it was not right, for the enemy might see by it that we were afraid for them, it was so humbly drawn. After long debating to and fro, they and we condescended to refer it to four gentlemen and four ministers; and so they agreed at length, and it was to have been drawn up that night and sent to the duke timeously on Monday. For aught as I know, they were altogether against the sending of any; for they did not desire us to agree: what they meant by it the Lord knows. Our men, with our divisions, slipped away still from us; for it was our common discourse that we could do no good. So after this we went all into the park and town of Hamilton.

We were not well settled when there came a post to Mr. Welsh, showing that the enemy was marching towards us.* We were not concerned

* The depositions in Lord Melville's trial, in the year 1685, throw light on this message. From these it appears, that on Saturday the 21st of June, (the day before the battle of Bothwell bridge,) his Lordship, who was in the king's army, sent John Miller in Watersauch, with letters and a message to Mr. John Welsh and Mr. David Hume, informing them that the royal army was at hand and in great strength, and imploring them to send a petition to the Duke of Monmouth, the commander, from whom they might expect good terms. Miller "behoved to creep upon his hands and feet near a quarter of a mile from the king's camp," and was accompanied three miles on his way by William Hamilton of Wishaw. Having come to Dalzell-ford, which was guarded by a party of the

with an enemy, as if there had not been one within 1000 miles of us. There were none went through the army to see if we wanted powder or ball. I do really think there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice. My men were well provided, for we brought upwards of two stone of powder from home with us, and I put to hand when we went from home first. I did take the lead and cast ball when we lay in the Monkland; so that we were best provided of them all. And we went presently to the moor and stood to our arms all night, and a little before day we saw the enemy kindling their matches a great way off. There were two companies at the bridge, and they came and desired me to go down and assist them; so I went, and the other company of Stirlingshire men and Glasgow company. I drew up hard upon the water-side against the west end of the

rebels, Robert Fleming of Auchinfine, who commanded them, sent John Lockhart of Bar, and Alexander Lockart, along with him to Hamilton, where he met with Mr. John King, who conveyed him to Welsh and Hume, by whom he was conducted to a meeting of officers in the moor. Lockhart of Mar deponed, that "had it not been for the intelligence brought by the said Miller, the king's army had surprized the rebels, and got all of them as it were in a hose net." Lord Melville told the messenger, that "if he were at Mr. John Welsh, he would sit down on his knees and beg them to lay down their arms;" for, "if they will not follow advice, and these people be broken, it will ruin the presbyterian interest." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. app. 57—59. See also above, p. 110, note.)

bridge. Glasgow, when they came down, drew up on my right hand, and Lennox on my left; there came also down about 200 Galloway foot: they had no other arms but pikes and halberts, with four pair of colours, and took ground on our right hand farthest from our enemy. There came one troop of their horse and drew up behind us, and then our cannon was drawn down, being a field piece and two muskets of found unmounted:* so these were not made use of.

About three hours in the morning [Sabbath, June 22d,] there advanced from the west side of Bothwel kirk four companies of dragoons, and the king's troop of the guard, and the duke William's troop; and so they advanced close to the bridge. The rest of their army was near a mile off, but marching north-west, for they came about because of their cannon which was with them. They sent down near to the bridge six men, who fired upon our men at the bridge, and we gave them a return. We received no hurt but one man wounded on the foot; and I believe some of them were wounded, if not killed; for they lay down where they fired, but I never saw them rise again. Robert Hamilton and Mr. Hume came to us, and several others. They sent over a drummer with a petition; so there

* These appear to have been a kind of large muskets too unwieldy for the arm, and usually supported by a frame, which in the present instance was wanting.

was a cessation for near one hour. The mean while the enemy came hard to the bridge-end and spoke to us and we to them. They desired us to come over and they would not harm us, and called for Mr. Hamilton to speak with him; so Mr. David Hume * went over, and another gentleman with him, and spoke with the duke, and desired his Grace if he would prevent the effusion of blood. He told them, their petition should have been more humbly worded, and said, lay down our arms and come in his mercy, and we should be favourably dealt with: so he returned and told us. When Robert Hamilton heard it, he laughed at it, and said, "and hang next." So we sent over word, we would not lay down our arms. He bade us likewise advise us, but would not grant a cessation; so they fired over a cannon amongst our men, and killed two horses but no men. We fired our cannon, and muskets played on both sides. When our cannon shot they left their cannon, fled both horse and foot, near five pair of butts. If we had had any person to have commanded us, we might have gained their cannon; but if I should have gone without command, if they should have turned on me, there would none have relieved me.

* Mr. David Hume, minister at Coldingham, was intercommuned, in 1676, for preaching in the fields. (Wod. i. 420. App. 73. Reid's Life, 26.) July 9, 1664, he was retoured heir to Alexander, his immediately younger brother. (Inq. Ret. Gen. 4804.)

So they came back and manned their guns again, and shot other three cannons amongst us, but did no harm. My Lord Lithgow's son came down to the bridge with about 500 of red coats too, and we still fired on both sides.* They charged again their cannon and shot them down at the bridge: then they fled and left it. The two companies that was out (not) of Glasgow they left us; also Glasgow company followed them, and one of our companies from my left hand also. They fired their cannon again: I do not know what harm it did. Lithgow's son came advancing to me, and they firing still upon me from the other side. I was necessitated to retire; so I returned back over *the bell of the brea* † about four pair of butts, and halted and charged again. Lithgow's son was the first that came over the bridge, with 300 foot and a troop of horse upon his rear. So they advanced towards us, upon which I desired our men to face about and let them see that we were not flying; and so I went back, and there followed me at first but about thirty-four of my men, and the rest advanced after them. The enemy fired about 100 muskets at us: we clapped, and so escaped all hazard of that fire, and immediately advanced again still

* In this and other instances, Hamilton, in his notes, ascribes the honour of resisting the advance of the army to Fowler rather than Ure.

† *Veal na bruaich;* (Gael.) the brow of the hill.

forward, resolving not to fire till we were in their bosom. They seeing us advance so resolutely, their horse retired first and then their foot, so that there was none of them in this side of the gates. Upon which retreat we made fire upon them, and the rest of my men coming down fired also. The enemy faced, and fired at me from the other side, and from the bridge, upwards of 500 shot; and likewise their cannon played. With the first shot they killed two men to me, and there was another killed with a musket; and I saw none coming to assist. I was forced to retire to the moor to the rest. On my retiring there was some of theirs pursued, and killed a man that had been wounded on the bridge. I caused my party face about, and chased them back; but they outran us to their party. When we came from the bridge, for ought that I know or can hear, there was none of my men killed but one man, and my three, and the man that was wounded.

In all this hot dispute, our commanders never owned us. As for Robert Hamilton, I never saw him from the time he went from the bridge, when the treaty was given up. Immediately the enemy advanced sharply alongst the bridge. Presently I drew up in the moor my men, and attended Lermont's* command; for I saw none but him to give

* Major Joseph Learmont, whom Law (on what evidence I know not) represents as having been originally a tailor, (See above, p. 26,) was proprietor of the lands of Newholme, which

orders. Because he had drawn up the foot, he commanded me to draw up upon the left hand, and so I did. He came within a little and desired me to draw down my men, and lay them in an ambush that was in an hollow burn, and so I did, and left my picked men that, with Learmont's men, was to keep the dragoons from flanking our horse. I got my horse a little before this. When I placed my men I leaped on my horse to see the enemy's order of battle. What number they were I know not, but I am sure they were three times our number; so I rode alongst their battle within shot of them a great way, and came back alongst to our men again; and so I came encouraging them what I could, for I saw none to do it. After this I rode to my men down the brae side. The two armies were no more but two carabine's shot asunder; and my men was betwixt on the left hand. I lighted to fasten my girth, and knew not that the dragoons was so near at hand, advancing up the brae. In the mean time, Balfour be-

lay partly in the shire of Peebles and partly in that of Lanark. (Samson's Riddle, 148.) After his forfeiture for being in the rising at Pentland, in consequence of a composition, William Hamilton of Wishaw, writer in Edinburgh, obtained a donation of the estate of Newholme, for the behoof of the Major's family. (Decr. Secr. Conc. May 7, 1673.) They were brothers-in-law, being married to daughters of John Hamilton of Udston, called in a former note (p. 45) *Auldstain* or *Austane*. (Douglas, Baron. p. 467, 479.)

ing on the left hand, seeing the cannons presented to them, wheeled about and went through all an open that there was some foot coming to fill up; but the rear of his horse troubled the foot, and they went back a little.* While he was retiring my men fired on the dragoons, and they at them, and their cannons played; the foot, hearing this, and being troubled a little with the horse, fled; and so they all fled, and not a man was standing on all the left hand. I cried to my men to make away. The right hand stood a little, but not so long as to put on a pair of gloves; so they all fled, and I turned with all my speed. Indeed, I was beholden to my horse. We were not at this day past 4000 foot and 2000 horse: if we had agreed we would have been the triple, but when they came the one day they went away the next. The Lord took both courage and wisdom from us.

This is what I saw and heard, and is a truth; but there is many things that were done amongst us, which, if I had had the help of another who

* "This was Tho. Weir, and Carmichael, designed by the author a forward gentleman. If the author were not stated in prejudice against Ro. Hamilton, he might have seen him meet these two gentlemen, and reprove them sharply for this foul act of theirs, which was the first beginning of our break. As for Balfour, his troop was not within the army that day, having been four miles out that night, by order of the council of war, and came in at this time: himself reproved Tho. Weir, and was after this wounded, the author being gone." (R. H.)

was witness to this, we might have set it more fully down. As for Mr. Kid,* although I had set him down to be of the faction, I never saw him open his mouth; and for Mr. Kemp, he went from us at Glasgow. What they stirred up the rest to do I know not, but it was Douglas † and Cargill that we were still crossed with. Although this be not so set down in order as some have it, I have set it down as it was acted; and I hope ye will give credit to it. I say, be who they will that will say this or that in it is a lie, I declare

* Mr. John Kid and Mr. John King were executed at Edinburgh, on the 14th of August, 1679, the day on which the indemnity was published. (Wod. ii. 83—87.) The former is represented by Walker as having preceded Cameron in preaching separation from the indulged ministers. (Rem. Passages, 147.) Both of them, in their dying testimonies, profess their loyalty and their aversion to divisive courses. (Naphtali, 427, 428, 437, 438.)

† Mr. Thomas Douglas was at the burning of the acts of parliament at Rutherglen, on the 29th of May preceding, and preacher at Loudon-hill, when Claverhouse was repulsed. (Russell's Acco. p. 439, 441.) Having escaped to Holland, (see before, p. 9,) he returned and, after preaching for some time in the fields in Scotland, retired to England. (Reid's Life, p. 47. Walker's Rem. Pass. 100, 101, 102.) On the 11th of August, 1682, the United Societies agreed to invite him home, that he might preach to them, "if no exceptions be found against him—but if there be any, his charges to be paid, and himself dismissed." He wrote back from England "giving some reasons of his not coming, which were not altogether satisfying." (Acts and Conclusions of the United Societies: MS. Adv. Lib. No. xvii. Rob. III. 5, 18. p. 26, 30.)

he is a liar; for there is no advantage to me to lie, since the world knows it.

We continued at the bridge from three hours to six hours, and, when we fled all, it would have been eight hours. A better dispute than we had was not readily heard of: there was none saw it that thought but there had been 1000 men killed: when we fled there was not ten men killed of us all.

There were not three times so many in the whole army of firemen as were in our three companies: there were not better like men, and better armed men, than our company were.

END OF URE'S NARRATIVE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[*Record of Committee of Privy Council, at Glasgow, Air, &c.* 1678; *in Register-House.*]

Indictment of JOHN MUIR, *late Provost of Ayr.*

22*d February*, 1678. *At Air, Ante Mer. Sederunt, the* MARQUIS OF ATHOLE, &c.

ANENT our Soveraigne Lords letters, raised at the instance of Mr Roderick M'Kenzie, Advocat-deput to Sir George M'Kenzie of Roshauch, his Majesties Advocat, for his Hienes interes, in the matter underwrytten, makand mention, That where notwithstanding by the lawes, &c. Nevertheles it is of verity, that Jon Muir, late provest of the burgh of Air, did take upon him the boldnes to usurp his Majesties authority, and the office of provest, baylie, and councellor, within the burgh of Air, for severall years, and particularly the years of God 1673, 1674, 1675, and ay and while he wes discharged and turned doune staires, by order from the Lords of Councill, and taking advantadge of the office and government which he had usurped and screwed in his handes, he did abuse the same, to the contempt of his Majesties authority, and lawes and acts of parliament of this kingdom, and to the dislyk of the government established therby, and upon the first, second, third, and remnant dayes of the monethes of Janua-

ry, February, March, and remanent monethes of the year 1677 and 1678, or upon one or uther of the saids dayes, monethes, and yeares, did not only withdraw himself, his wife, children, and servants, from the publick ordinances and worship of God within his owne paroch kirk, for three, bot many Sabbathes together, bot also went to and wes present at severall house and field conventicles, holden at the tymes and in the places after specifiet, viz. the said Jon Muir wes present at two feild conventicles, the one holden at Prestick, and the other within the citedale of Air, upon one or uther of the dayes of the monethes & yeares forsaids; and lykwayes at diverse and sundry house conventicles, and particularly at four conventicles holden at his own house, and at conventicle holden within Helen Leslies house, in Air, upon ane or uther of the dayes of the monethes of the years forsaids, where Mr Jon Welsh, Mr Walwood, Mr Muir, Mr George Jonstoun, Mr Andro Mortoun, Mr Donald Cargill, Mr Jon Rae, Mr Edward Jameson, or one or other of them, or some of the vagrant preachers, declared rebells, traitors, and fugitives, being invited and instigat by him, did take upon them the boldnes to preach, pray, and exercise the uther functions of the ministery, and did vent and expresse seditious and schismaticall doctrin, and uttered many scandalous, calumnious, and reproachfull speeches against his Majestie's person, estate, and government; at the whilk house & feild conventicles there were present his wyfe, children, & servants, and many uther persons whom he had convocat and invited to the saids meitings, who did communicat and receave the sacrament of the Lord's supper from the said Mr Jon Welsh, ane declared and forfaulted rebell and traitor, at Sauchill, or at one or uther of the places forsaids; and siclyk the said Jon Muir hes these severall yeares, and particularly since the moneth of January 1677, keeped close converse, intelligence, and correspondence, with the said Mr Jon Welsh, and the uther persons forsaids, declared traitors, rebells, and fugitives, frae our lawes, and hes contryved, plotted, hatched, and promoted their seditious and factious designes against his Majesties person, estate, and government, for disturbing the peace & quyet of the kingdomes; and, particularly, did insinuat upon Mr William Adair, ane indulged minister in the burgh of Air, and procured and caryed a letter from him to severall indulged ministers who had mett at Machline, desyreing them to plant a

minister at Air, to out the present regular minister there; and, in prosecution therof, did procure and prevale with the saids indulged ministers to meit at Air, in the moneth of last bypast, in the said Mr William Adaires house, with Mr Jon Hutcheson, Hugh Campbell, Robert Miller, Alison, Alexander Stevenson, William Fullartoun, Fergus M'Alexander, and uthers, where he satt as in presbyterie and session with them, and after much debate anent the outing of the said regular minister, he and they concluded not to plant a minister in Air at that tyme, because of the report that a committy of the Lords of Privy Councill were comeing to the west, and in the mean tym appointed each of their number to preach at Air, without consent of the regular incumbent, on after another, and *per vices;* and accordingly Mr Stevenson and Mr Hutcheson did preach thereat very schismaticall and disloyall doctrin, and the rest were only stopt by the certain notice of the coming of the Lords of the Committy; and in lyk manner he did common with, recept, supply, favour, and maintain the said Mr Jon Welsh, and the uther persons forsaides, declared traitors and rebells, and did collect considerable soumes of money for them from the inhabitants of the toune of Air, and diverse uther persons were incouraged and persuaded therto by his example, and at his desyre: And although the said Jon Muir did frequently hear many disloyeall, false, slanderous, calumnious persons foresaids, and uthers of that character and stamp, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his Majesty, his councill, and proceedinges, yet he wes so farr from apprehending the persons guilty therof, or revealing the same to the councill or magistratts, as in duety he wes oblidged, and as by law he wes bound to doe, that by the contrar he did spread and make use of the same to deprave and corrupt his Majestics good subjects, and to bring them to a dislyk of the government, and to oppen rebellion against the same, wherby the said Jon Muir is guilty of, and hes contraveened the lawes and acts of parliament above wrytten, or ane or uther of them, and therby hes incurred the paynes and penalties therin conteaned, for which he ought not only to be punished in his person and goods with all severity, bot also ought and should be ordained to inact himself, and give band that he, his wife, children, and servants, and uthers belonging to him, shall live orderly and obedient to the lawes in tym comeing,

under such pecuniall soumes, and other certifications, as the Lords of Councill, or Lords of the Committy appointed by them, shall think fitt to appoint: And anent the charge given to the said Jon Muir, to have compeared personally before the Lords of the Committy of Councill this present day, to have answered to the premisses, and to have given his oath upon the verity of the lybell; and the same being verified and proven, to have heard and seen himself decerned to make payment of the penalties containit in the saids acts of parliament, and utherwayes proceedit against and punished for the said crymes, with certification to him he should be holden as confest, &c.: And farder, to have heard and seen such order taken theranent as appertained, under the payne of rebellion; with certification to him if he faylied, letters should have been simpliciter direct to putt him to the horn, as the saids letters, executions, and indorsations therof at lenth proportes; whilk being called, and the said persewer compearand personally, and the said defender being oftymes called and not compearand, the Lords of the Committy ordaines letters to be direct by messengers-at-armes, to denounce the said Jon Muir, his Majesties rebell, and to putt him to the horn, and to escheat and inbring all his moveable goods and geir to his Majesties use, for his contempt and disobedience. *

* As a specimen of the vexatious prosecutions of these times, it was intended to have given here, from the same record, the indictment against David Blair of Goldring, sheriff-clerk of Ayr; in which ten several suppositions, as to the contravention of the laws against non-conformity, are introduced, each of them with the words, *at the least*. But as Wodrow has printed a blank copy of these indictments, (i. 475.) the reader is referred to it.

No. II.

[*MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.* $\frac{18}{27}$ *Jac. V. I.* 21, *art.* 70.]

Letter from Mr JOHN CARSTAIRS, *to Chancellor Glencairn.**

RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND MY VERY NOBLE LORD,

IT may be constructed very great presumption in me, so mean and inconsiderable a person, to writ to your noble lordship, the pryme minister of state in the kingdom, but necessity, that doth not easily admitt of any law of otherwise requisite distance, hath constrained to make application to your lordship by this lyne, wherof to take some notice, tho' your lordship may, yet I hope your lordship will not, be unwilling to dimitt yorself. I did, my lord, some few dayes agoe, receive a citation to appeare before the Commission (designeing no particulare place where, as it should have done, by appointment of the Commission,) to anser to some misdemeanors charged upon me therein, as keeping of conventicles and disturbing the publick peace, with which I was somewhat surprised, not being conscious to my self of any thing lyable to just offence that way. As for keeping of conventicles, I suppose it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to my accusers to prove me guilty of any contravention of the law, according to their own sense of conventicles; and, for disturbing of the publick peace, I hope there are non that know me, that will look on me as any way so disposed, whereof this may be some evidence, that since I was outed of my ministry at Glasgow, which is now two full yeires, I have had so little pleasure to see any person, or be seen, let be to meddle toward disturbing the publick peace, (from which sort of meddling especially I have, to say no more, even a naturall aversation and abhorrency,) that I have been sometimes three, sometimes six weeks, sometimes two full monethes, that I have never come out of doores. Nather have I been these 18 moneths past, to my

* Copy in Mr Carstairs's hand-writing. It has no date, but must have been written between March 2, and April 29, 1664. (Wodrow, i. 208, 209, 215.) The writer was the father of Principal Carstairs.

best remembrance, in any nobleman's or gentleman's dwelling in Scotland, save one, and that very occasionally, though I have had usuall civilities and kynd invitations offered to me. And so abstract have I been from medleing, that famous Mr Wood, my brother-in-law, who is now at rest, was sick 10 or 12 weekes before I did so much as certainly know how it was with him, as your lordship may perceave by the inclosed from him to me; as likewise how vehementlie he did importune me to come and visite him, which so urgent desire, considering his case, the neirnes of our relation, and condition of my only sister, her six children, who after his death were to be orphans, I could not refuse to satisfy, without being justly chargable with much unkyndnes, yea, even inhumanity, being, withall, under no interdiction to the contrare; who, in the time of my being at St Andrewes, found himself called and necessitated, upon occasion of some reports spread abroad (by the Lord knoweth whom) anent his remitting somewhat of his former zeall for Presbyterian goverment, to leave a testimony behind him in writt, for his owne vindication. To the trueth of which deed, as done by him, I did, with some others, suscrib as witness, which being present in the time, I could nather in conscience nor ingenuitie refuse, especiallie sith it was so well knowen to all the world that knew him, that that was his fixed judgment, and that when a-dieing, it did so much afflict him, that any report to the contrare should have gone of him; and whereas it is like it will be said by some that it is forgery, and not his own deed, or at best extorted from him when he knew not what he did or said, I shall, for myne owne, but more for the worthy dead man's just vindication, beg leave to say a few things. And first, tho' I be not simply obleedged to it, I doe seriously and solemnely profess to your lordship, that I did not suggest to him any motion of leaving a testimony behind him in writt, nather did any other, the while I was with him, so farre as I know. Further, I darre confidently say to your lordship, that he did it most spontaneously, deliberatly, and with very much composure and presentnes of spirit, whereof these may be some pregnant and undeniable evidences; besids that it was about a fourtein nights before his death, and that after it was done some dayes, a famous physitian, at the first sieing of him, seemed not to be altogether out of hope of his recovery. 1. He did, on Tuesday immediatly before, cause read over and subscrib his testament, and spake most judiciously

anent the persones he had made chose of for oversieing his childrein. 2. He did, that same day, in the evening, in the hearing of persones worthy to be trusted, (as your Lordship may hear more particularly afterward,) speak all on the mater that is contained in that testimony, and somewhat more. 3. He said to those persons, no such thing being hinted at by them nor by me, that he had a mind to leave a testimony behind him. 4. He did, on Wednesday morneing, the day of his dictating that testimony, to another person worthy to be trusted, say, after prayer, no occasion at all being given be that person, I take you witnes, before the Lord, that I did not directly, nor indirectly, speak any thing to the prejudice of Presbyterian goverenment, but to the contrare, I judge it to be a trueth of God, for which a Christian, as he is called to it, should suffer. 5. He did desire the young man that had written to him all the while of his sicknes, that morneing, when he was going a little off toune to doe somewhat relateing to the security of his childrens provision, to come in to him againe about twelve or one of clock, for he had somewhat to writt that would take tyme; and when the young man inquired if he would doe it presently, he said, not, for I must think on it. 6. When he came in, he put him to writt, and I, comeing up staires, and knowing no more what he was about than your noble Lordship, did find him most composedly, and without interruption, dictating to the writter his testimony, which was neir a close ere I came in, and siting doune in the roome, I keeped silence all the while. 7. When it was written over again in mundo, without variation of one sentence or word from the first scroll, it was read to him distinctly before the witnesses, (one of these, Mr William Tullidaff, having come in very occasionally, not knowing any thing of such a business at all,) he did subscrib his oune name, and thereafter discoursed to Mr Tullidaff, and in his hearing, a considerable space, most pertinently and composedly. 8. He did, that night, and severall of the thirteen or fourteen dayes, that interveened betwixt and his death, utter many gracious words about his soules estate, with much gravity and composednes of mynd. All which put together, and compared with the knowen fixednes of his judgment in that mater, and but a very fewe dayes before expressed, in the inclosed to me, by his desire to live a little, that he might give a more complete testimony to the trueth, will put it beyond all reach of debate, that he not only knew what he did, and was not forced to it cross his owne in-

clination, but that he did it most freely and deliberatly, and that it was before, and at the time of doeing of it, much upon his heart to doe it ; so that, were it otherwise convenient for me to appear before the commission, I suppose it would be no great difficulty humbly to justify my carriage, all the while I was at St Andrewes. Nather doth my necessare not compearing proceed from any the least contempt of his Majesties authoritie, which I desire highly to reverence, and wish his sacred person to be every (*sic*) most eminently blessed of God ; heartily, withall, allowing to his Majestie all the power that any prince on earth hath from God: nor out of any disrespect to your Lordship, the Lord High Chancelor of the kingdome, nor to the great Lord Treasurer, nor to any of the meanest under his Majestie, called to rule over me, nor to any of his Courts of Judicature, to which, notwithstanding of the greatest apparent hazard, I have allwayes, on the first call, as it well became me, come, and on which I have patiently and submissively waited, dayes, weeks, and monethes, as your Lordship well knoweth. But it is for other reasons, which I hope will not offend your Lordship. I shall only presume to adde, as to these reverend brethren, of the brethren cited with me, that Mr Henry Rymer was not at St Andrewes with Mr Wood, all the while that I was there. Nather did I sie Mr Alexander Wedderburne with him: nather did any of the rest, to my best knowledge, desire him to writt that testimony. Now, hopeing that your Lordship will pardone this trouble, I am, my noblest Lord, your Lordship's very humble servant in the Lord,

Mr Johne Carstaires.

The letter that Mr Wood wrote to Mr Carstaires, ten or twelve dayes before he went to sie him, mentioned in the preceeding letter, and which (the very principall) was inclosed to the Chancelor, had something in it to this purpose, if not in the same words:—

Brother, there is one thing I must add, though it were best of all for me to be dissolved and to be with Christ, considering the snares and tentations that are comeing: the complyance that will be, the hard lottes they will be put to, that will keep at distance ; and the sore judgments and plagues that are like to come on this adulterous and perverse generation ; yet, if it were the good pleasure of God, I would desire to live a while, that I might give a more complete testimony to the trueth. But I must check myself: he has many polished shafts with him, &c.

No. III.

[*Orig. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LIX. Jac. V. I.* 26. *art.* 52.]

Letter from Mr JOHN CARSTAIRS *to Mr* ROBERT MACWARD.

Nov^br. 30, 1676.

MY REVEREND AND DEAREST BROTHER,

I CAN now but salute you very kindly, and tell you that I longe much to hear how you are now; I wold fain hope some better, for we can not well want you: "Ceasse, Lord; by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small." I beseech you, remitt of your severity to that poor weakened and wasted body. There cometh along in this vessell, directed to Mr Russell, some papers sent from John Cairnes: they are a rare and rich jewel, especially for the poor Church of Scotland, both shaming and allarming us,—Mr CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY, which with some difficulty and importunity two-three of us have at last obtained. The copy is taken from his own manuscript*, being the third and last cura, and faithfully collationed with it: it is very fairly wreaten, which 4 of us have payed for. You will, I am sure, read it with much both satisfaction and sorrow, and it will be acceptable beyond much gold. Mr Weily had dealt earnestly for it with the person in whose custody it was; and I did put Mr Wyly to ride again to him, with my assurance that it should be both secretly aud faithfully disposed of; and wrote after, but then obtained nothinge; but have since, in good

* This MS., containing corrections on the margin in Mr Calderwood's hand-writing, is still preserved, and is in the possession of James Douglas, Esq. of Cavers. From that family, distinguished by its adherence to Presbytery, Mr Carstairs most probably obtained the use of it at that time. Mr Thomas Wyllie, (the person referred to in this letter,) was minister first at Borg, and afterwards at Mauchlin, from which he was removed to Kirkcudbright, some time before the Restoration. On the 29th of October, 1667, he was permitted to return, from his confinement, to the south of the Forth, Edinburgh excepted. (Wodrow, i. *passim.*) He afterwards accepted of an indulgence to the parish of Fenwick, on a call from the people, and died the "twentie day of July, 1676." (Decr. Sec. Concil. 16 Jan. 1677.) His son, Mr Robert Wyllie, who was tutor to the family of Cavers, and became minister of Hamilton after the Revolution, was much esteemed for his talents and learning.

providence, to my great satisfaction, obtained it. I know its much longed for in both kingdoms, and probably will sell well if not feared. It makes a sad discovery of the dreadful opposition of our [royal] house, especially to the kingdom of Christ, which will bring it belike as a martyr to the fire. On many accounts it wold be keeped severely closse and secret: the danger of discovery wold be great to many, which will be obvious to yourself. I have given the copy to John Carnes, to make of it what he can; and if it come through, it may, throughe God's blessing, make him somewhat up. Let it even be hastened with all convenient diligence, for this is the very seasoun for such a books coming out. Respect to the author, who speaks most savourily all alonge of our honest and faithfull great men, to the golden work, and to the Church of Scotland, will, I hope, persuade yourselfe and Mr Brown to correct the proof-sheets, and I think worthy Wallace may herein be helpfull; for it is of no particular man's concern, but a treasure of the church. Title and preface may be thought of time eneugh; and its a good providence, I just now think, that it hath no title, since none of the printers will ever hear of the author's name till it be finished. It wold be done in such a letter as may sute the work, and yet not overcharge poor John with vast expence. I have no new thing to acquaint you with. You have heard, its like, of Mrs Dunlop's and young Mrs Guthrie's banishment from Edinburgh, for hearing preaching and prayer against the law. There is no abatement of our severity. Its like, this day there will be a great clamour in the councell, on occasion of a south country conventikle this last Sabbath, or Sabbath was eight dayes, by which a party of horse, sent to dissolve them, was darred and menassed away, being surrounded, and assured, if they offered violence to any there, none of them should goe off the place; and so they left them. I dearly remember your friend and John—let me know how she is. I very kindly salute Mr Russell, his mother-in-law, and his wife, Coll. Wallace, sweet Mrs Hoshepied, of whose recovery I longe to hear, Mr Hogge, and great Mr Broun; thank him kindly, in my name, for his book. John Carnes waits, and I must stop here. Grace, grace be with you, and your bow abide in strength. I am, my dearest brother, your etca.

I remember our own Margaret.

For Mr Macquard, Minister of the Gospel, now at Rotterdame, these.

No. IV.

[*Orig. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LIX. Jac. V.* 1. 26. *art.* 57.]

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

Edr, March 8th, 1677.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

My goutish distemper still somewhat continouing, I can only kindly salute you, and tell you, that I have, since my last to you, (which, I hear, is by the east winde driven, in providence, hither again,) received Mr Wallace his return to yours and mine, both which I herewith transmitt to you. Its like it will not doe. I wish, as he seems to resolve, he may hasten over at least: Pray, hasten him word of your friend's dyet. I thought it not fit, on the account you gave me of the establishing that salary for a successor, to wreat to him again, judging the motive somewhat mercenary, as it's like he wold; but I judge that condescension a very signall signification of respect to you, and the procurement of it worthy a man's life: The fruit, the fruit of it may speak and blesse the Lord on your behalfe when you are dead. Your crosse is so richly inambled and indented with memorable mercies, that scarce one bitt of that crabbed tree appears. Let your heart tremble and be enlarged because of all this goodnesse of God. I sent you, a quarter of a year agoe, in James Cassell's ship, what I judged a jewell, as you will also think, thoughe I understand he is but very lately gone, being detained by the frost. It is now more than ever a jewell, even as a brand snatched out of the burning of the monuments of the poor Church of Scotland. Our church registers being all taken out of a house here in Edinburgh this last week, by some one or other unhappy person's information, who had seen Mr Robert Car his papers after his death.* I fear the work shall not be

* A document, which will be inserted as No. XIV. in this Appendix, throws light on the way in which the Registers here referred to probably came into the possession of Mr Robert Car, or Ker.

There can be no doubt that these Registers contained the Minutes of

gote done now, you both being absent; which made me doutfull whether I should called for it again, when I heard of your removall thence, and that the vessell was not then gone. It will be much if it be not discovered when it is a doing, which wold make sad work. O, what wold they give now especially for it! The Lord preserve it, as a faithfull wittness to his interests against the usurpations of prince and prelats, and for this poor church. I salut all friends dearly, and am, my dearest, your own,

J. K.

No. V.

[*Orig. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LIX. Jac. V.* 1. 26. *art.* 109.]

From the Same *to the* Same.

Feb. 17, 1679.

My dearest, and of all men, most obligding
Friend and Brother,

I take this occasion to salute you much in the Lord, to whom you are dear, and in whose heart you have much roum, and to tell you, that remembring your premptory assertion, that you wold doe no thinge that way, poor insignificant and very ignorant I the unfittest, you know of many, have constrained my selfe to scrible an

the General Assembly from the Reformation down, at least, to the year 1590; and what is here stated may serve to correct the account of their seizure given by Bishop Keith. (Hist. p. 497, Note.) They were seized in consequence of information, and not by accident; and Bishop Paterson was not admitted a member of the Privy Council until September 27, 1678, nor translated to the See of Edinburgh until March 29, 1679. (Fount. Dec. i. 17. Keith's Cat. 168.) The Registers were carried off after the Revolution, by Dr Archibald Campbell, a cadet of the family of Argyle, and non-jurant bishop, who gave them to the clergy of the province of London, with whom, it is understood, they still remain. Though they are the only record of the acts and laws of the Church of Scotland during one of the most important periods of her history, yet, to this day, the General Assembly either has not demanded, or has been unable to obtain, her most undoubted property!

epistle to that book, which is now I suppose printed, being unwilling it should stick there for want of one; either of you two there ar a thousand times fitter for such a work. If there be any thinge unsound or unsutable in it, I know you will, and earnestly desire you may, for the workes sake, and for poor my sake, helpe it; if it be not fitt and apposite, lay it aside, and deny your selfe that far as to write an other, which I know the Lord heth many wayes inabled you to doe to much better purpose. If you think that this may passe without disgrace or prejudice to the book (for it heth my subitan and raw thoughts and reasonings, without reading any thinge on the subject for such an end, from some glimering of light and reminiscence of what I think I have some time read or heard.) You will see to the exact revising and printing of it your selfe, and the punctation of it; if it be otherwise than as I say in the close, as to not one line or sentence added to it, taken from it, or altered to the perverting of the author's sense, (as there was none by me,) you will alter what I have so peremptorily said, and put it in some safe generall, that no wntruth be so confidently asserted, which may also be contradicted. Wse your freedome with it, for the work and cause sake.

I dare not trouble you with any account of our matters; but great and growing are our confusions, distempers, and distractions. We are made by them exceedingly contemptible, and for any thinge I know, presbyterian government gote never such a blow in Brittain as it is like to receave by them; and it's more than probable, that severall that ar weary of prelacy, and might incline to favour our persons, ar frighted and scarred from us because of our dividing and contentious practises, as if the very principles of our government and party had a genuin and native tendency to them, since we thus so readily fall by the ears on every occasion. Ah! He, the jealous and much provoked God, heth divyded us in his anger, and there is litle hope of healing! My dearest, and even as wombe-born brother, suffer me to tell you, that it is wondred at by many, and even by some that ar your reall friends and myn, and I confesse I somewhat wonder at it my selfe, that whatever is or may be your just dissatisfaction with the indulgence, that you should not only run this great and unexpected leinth in incouraging and persuading to withdraw and separat, and to allow and patronize these poor petulant young men, who, thoughe no plene ambassadours of Jesus Christ, roam up and down the country, and in places where they have

no calling, and very magisterially charge under highest pains, to withdraw from the indulged brethrens ministry, and load all with the imputations of fainting and unfaithfulness who run not at that same rate, but also state your selves, being knowing and godly, eminently godly men, in an open and to the world declared opposition to all (a very few, if any, excepted) the honest suffering ministers of the Church of Scotland, so as to write against opinions, practises, proceedings, forbearings, and all thinges abut these differences here in men, many of whom you knou, and so much in favours and commendation of some novices whom you knou not, some of whose insolent extravagancies, I persuade my selfe, the sober and humble soul of the tender, godly, knowing, and judicious Mr Mackquard wolde as much abhore, if knowen to him, as they ar incapable of a just apology. Is there no forbearance in these thinges to be expected which we justly dissallow? and shall our differences be screwed to such a hight, and so keenly and eagerly pursued, so as all fears of Popery and a forraigne sword (which ar like only to putt a period to them) ar swallowed up and forgotten? Is there, my dearly beloved brother, and man greatly beloved, no place for intreaties and beseechings, to consider and endevour to prevent, before thinges be quite past remedy, (for I will dispute none,) is there, I say, no place to consider whither it wer better to supercede our contendings then to have our Church ruined? I scarcely see a midle way for any thinge. I hear the sober and judicious godly in Scotland will not holde up with these late methods, and indirect wayes ar taken to blast evry mans repute that finds not in his heart to goe all the leinth that some goe; but its a small thinge to be judged of men. As for poor me, O, if I knou of a cottage in the wildernesse while I live, and were sure thence to goe to the kingdome! I hear there ar animadversions on Mr Brown's letters to Mr Dickson about the brethrens meeting at Edinburgh, and to Mr Cameron, as if none such had been reased up in the Church of Scotland for many years before; where I suppose they will and can hardly but have great advantage of him, neither will after replyes, I fear, well helpe errours in the first concoction. I hear also, there is an answer to his 24 arguments against hearing, which I find even sober persons not lay much weight upon; but I have seen none of them, nor have I great pleasure to be entangled in that, alace! not so greatly edifieing and much stumbling contraversy. I told you longe since what this wold come to. O, if wee were all more humbled before Him, more one

with Him, and more one in Him amongst our selves! I dearly salute your worthy wife, worthy Mr Gordoun, my kind and oblidging friend choice Mrs Levingstoun, a mother indeed in Israel, worthy Mr Russell and his wife, blest Mrs Hoshipied and her husband. Forget not to salute kindly in my name Mr Brown and Mr Coleman. My wife is now very weak, broken in her health, and is seldome well. Grace, grace, grace be with you.—I am, my dearest and most desirable Brother,

Your own poor afflicted and uselesse,
but much, very much oblidged and affectionatt
J. C.

Please to inquyre at Mr Russell if he knew how worthy, now glorified, Collonell Wallace disposed on his litle affairs, and whether he left any thinge for William's wife, a sober, grave, godly gentlewoman, pleaing now here at law, for she heth heard no thinge of it. Send word by the first occasion by post about that matter. Desire your wife to remember me dearly to James Dunlop, to sweet John, and our own Margaret.

No. VI.

[*Orig. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LVIII. Jac. V* 1. 11. *art.* 90.]

Letter from Mr Macward *to Mr* John Brown, *with the Answer.**

Deare B.

I herewith send you, first, a seled letter to your self; secondly, I send you a letter of Mr Carstairs', with the Epistle to Kalderwood's History, wherewith I am pleased, for I have run it over. You may also read it; onely I think, if you judge fit, such a word

* It is marked on the back, in Wodrow's hand, "Lett. Mr M'Ward to Mr Brown, on ye Preface to Calderwood's History, &c. So its sometime 1678." This is a mistake; as Carstairs's letter, to which it refers, is dated Feb. 17, 1679.

might be inserted towards the close, that it will be unworthy of any serious person, much more of a minister of the Gospel, not to provide himself with a copy of one of these and peruse. Next, for I writ things as they come in my head, if you think good it may be, it were not amisse, towards the beginning of that part of the preface where the History itself is particularly spoken too, for preventing the reader's neglect and contempt of the whole, if he finde not somewhat tickling and takeing in the beginning, to drop such a word as this—However things are more briefly hinted in the beginning of the History, and onely a cleare deduction of the series of Assemblies held forth, which was the author's design, yet the following part is full, sweet, and satisfactory; wherein things are handled, etc. This is all I have to say of it, except that I judge it must be transcribed, for I doubt if this hand can be read. As for the rest that relats to it, viz. Mr Fleming's rare overture for paying Mr Russell, etc., I know Mr Russell will acquaint you with it. However, you will finde what he sais in this short letter to me, which I also send you, because of some newes in it.

As for the larger with the Preface, you see he answers none of my arguments; onely you will perceive by Mons's to me, according to my conjecture that is put upon him, so that it is him we have now mainly to deale with. I have run Mons's over, and I perceive these two:—1st, That he would have us falling off from the pursute; 2dly, I perceive, and I wonder he strikes so oft on that string, that he is strangely picqued at our writing about the time he went hence, and that his being here did not prevent it.

I suspect that person Mrs Sims. hints at in yours be Rob. Ham., though I have not heard whether he be come or not; onley I heare the Lady Kersland is come. Let me know how you are, and if you have read these sheets you took with you. Let me have your thoughts about them; but doo not straiten yourself. You may read what I now send you at your own conveniency. Its like we must have a day together next week. I know you will not scruple to see Mr Hamilton, if he be come. I was just upon our union and divisions when I received Mons's. I am weary. Be not discouraged: He will hold your hand, and make your bow abide in its strength. Vale.

Mr Brown's Answer.

I have read those letters and also the three treatises which are come over for an answer; all which are more than answered in the History: but it seems the Lord will not suffer that to come to their sight, for all that was sent home is destroyed, can tell you, as I hear. Whereupon I think we are called to silence, for the Lord will do his work another way.

This Preface must be helped in some things. Our greatest troubles about church government with K. J. did not commence with the tulchan bishops, but began, you know, an. 1596, before which time these tulchans were gone and evanished. Mention must be made in it of the Lord's honouring our Church with suffering on that account before all the Churches of Christ. Some words in the end must be changed. Vale. You mention Mr Fleming's letter, but I have not seen it.*

* We learn from Wodrow, that his father-in-law, Mr Patrick Warner, (see before, p. 256,) was active in promoting the printing of Calderwood's History. "Towards the end of February this year, [1682,] when living peaceably in the house of his mother-in-law, [Mr William Guthrie's widow,] at Edinburgh,—a party of the Guards,—commanded by Major Johnstoun, —took him out of his bed, ransacked the whole house, and took away upwards of twenty copies of Calderwood's History, lately printed, mostly upon his charges, with some hundreds of the Second Book of Discipline, lately printed, and several other valuable books, out of his closet, with a considerable number of more valuable manuscripts, some of them his, but mostly belonging to his mother-in-law, Mrs Guthrie, which had been her husband's.—The books and manuscripts were taken to the Council-house to be looked over, but were never restored.—Having engaged in the printing of that useful book, Calderwood's History, and lent a great deal of money to help it on, he was obliged to take for his payment some hundreds of the books in quires; and, besides his loss of the bound copies at Edinburgh, those which were unbound, by his frequent removes, were many of them put in disorder and confusion, and so on the matter lost to him, and many of them seized, which, after he had redeemed, were sometimes taken a second time. At a very moderate computation, his loss was upwards of an hundred pounds sterling. Meanwhile, there is neither act of Parliament or Council against that book, neither did the committee before whom he appeared blame him for having so many of them as were seized; and yet they would not order them back to him when desired."—(Wodrow, ii. 250, 255.)

No. VII.

[*MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. XLIII. Rob. III.* 3. 16.]

*Letter from the King to the Council, liberating Mr William Veitch.**

Charles, R.

Right trusty, &c. we greet you well. Mr William Veitch having been forfaulted by a sentence of our Justice Court, as being accessory to the rebellion in the year 1666, was lately taken in Northumberland, and was by our order, sent prisoner to Edinburgh, there to be pursued by our advocat for that his accession; and whereas it is now humbly represented unto us that the said Mr William Veitch was not actually present at the fight on Pentland-hills, and that having retired tymously from the

* The other documents respecting Mr Veitch's trial are printed in Wodrow. The following notice concerning his father was omitted in its proper place:—"There is an old man, Mr John Veitch, minister of Roberton; they [the committee of the Remonstrant or Protesting Synod of Glasgow] sent two or three ministers of their number to hear him preach. On their report, they pronounced a sentence of deposition on him, as insufficient. Our Synod appointed some to join with the true Presbytery of Lanark, which met the week thereafter—with the unanimous consent of the people of Roberton, strengthened the minister, and appointed a helper to be settled there in an orderly way." (Baillie to Spang, July 19, 1654: Baillie's Letters, ii. 374.) This explains what has been stated respecting Mr Blackie in a former note. (See before, p. 54.)

In an Act of Parliament, anno 1598, for paying the King's debts, among the sums owing by Thomas Fowllis, goldsmith, and Robert Jowsie, burgess in Edinburgh, (his Majesty's bankers or furnishers,) the first item is, "To James Veitch, in Dalkeyt, 661li. 13s. 4d." Mr Veitch, in his Memoirs, (p. 4,) mentions that the estate of his ancestors was in the neighbourhood of Dalkeith, so that the person here referred to was perhaps his grandfather.

rebells, he did, ever since, live peaceably in this our kingdom of England. And we being graciously desirous to encourage those that repent for their accessions to such rebellious courses, have therefore ordained, and do hereby authorize and require you, to sett the said Mr William Veitch at liberty, he always enacting himself to remove forth of that our ancient kingdom of Scotland, and not to return into the same. This our letter being his security untill he shall again return into that our kingdom, in which case this our warrant is hereby declared ineffectual. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court of Windsor Castle, the 17th day of July, 1679, and of our reigne the 31 year. By his Majesties command,

(Subscribitur) LAUDERDALE

No. VIII.

[*Record of the Diocesan Synod of St Andrews.*]

Representation of the Archbishop and Clergy of St Andrews, to the Privy Council.

' St Andrews, April 29, 1674.

THE Lord Archbishop and brethren of the Privy Conference, considering the increase of the many disorders under which the Church, particularly in this diocess, does sadly labour, judged that a representation of the evill of these disorders to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, by the mediation of Lord Archbishop, would be the most efficient mean for the cure of them.—Of late, some persons of implacable enmity against the order and peace of this church, (the roughness and rancour of whose spirit does contemn all the lenities that are used for the smoothing and sweeting of it,) have presumed to abuse the mercy and indulgence of our sovereign, unto the acting of als high insolences against the worship and public service of God, his ministers who serve at his altar, and the discipline he has instituted, as ever have been suffered by any who have lived under the direction of good and wholesome laws

and the bounty and mercy of so gracious a prince. We humbly intreat your grace to present this our complaint unto the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, that they may move for the redress of these evils which press us so sore. These iniquities and abuses are specially these following:—1. The growth and increase of Popery, by the diligence and boldness of traffiquing papists, to the seducing ignorant and unstable people unto idolatry and superstition, together with the defection of some into quakerism. 2. The open and almost avowed contempt that is cast upon the public and solemn worship of God, by deserting the public assemblies of the church established by law for the service of God, not only through a simple and negative secession from the communion of this church, but also by a frequent and open assembling by multitudes in the fields and private houses, in a direct and stated opposition unto the lawful assemblies of this church. It is also aggravated by several disorderly clandestine marriages, like as by the impudent and wilful refusal of delinquents to submit unto the just censures of this church, for scandalous miscarriages, condemned by the word of God and laws of this kingdom, by the licentiousness of persons openly profane, which may be, and are, encouraged by this example, by the unheard-of intrusion into, and invading the pulpits of the godly and orderly ministers of this church, and by the barbarous profanation of places dedicate to the service of God. 3. The open and ordinary profanation of the Lord's day by persons who, pretending necessary dispatch of business, do cause great disturbance in the several parishes through which the common road lieth, by threating and forcing hirers of horse, boatmen, and other people, to serve their worldly lusts and designs. As also by the travelling of multitudes of people on the Lord's day, to conventicles at a great distance.

This being the sad posture and state of affaris that this church is in, we could no longer forbear craving the assistance which the law of God does allow us, and the benevolence and fatherly care of our gracious Sovereign does invite and command us to call for, as often as we stand in need; and do hereby, and by your Grace's mediation and earnest intercession, beg that the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council would be pleased to examine the truth of the particulars above-mentioned, and proceed accordingly against the course and torrent of these abuses, as they in wisdom judge most convenient, to remove the danger that the Protestant religion is in

of being, as it were, a deluge of error, schism, profanity, and atheism, and to vindicate the authority and honour of our ministry from the fury and barbarity of those whose actings declare them implacable toward our persons, and irreconcileable unto the peace and order of this church, that we may be succoured in our stations so to behave in all the conduct of our affairs as it may never repent his Majesty or their Lordships of the favour and protection they have graciously granted unto us and the afflicted church whereof we are ministers and members.

St Andrews, Sept. 2. 1680.

The Archbishop and Synod being deeply sensible of the great discontentment the orderly and orthodox ministers labour under by reason of the many vagrant conventicle preachers and others that in certain places of this diocese, especiallie in Fife, doe keep weeklie preachings in their houses, to the great disturbance of the peace and unity of the congregations where they reside, and the next adjacent; therefore its thought fit that the moderators of the several Presbyteries should give in to the clerk of the Synod a list of the names of all such, whether iterant or settled, that his Grace may make use thereof as he shall find expedient.

It being complained that in several places so many withdraw from the church and refuse to be examined, so that the ministers of these parishes are doubtful whether they shall administer the sacrament of the Eucharist; its appointed that it shall be given to those who are desirous of the same, though they be but a few.*

* Great complaints are made at this period by the clergy in all parts of the country, that religious ordinances are ill attended, and that the public collections have fallen off, "many persons giving but one copper doyt at their offering." For two or three years before the Restoration, the collection at the communion in the parish of St Andrews, amounted to £200 annually. In 1661, it was £147, 1s. 6d.; and in 1663, it fell to £83, 1s. 6d.

The following exhibits a state of the collections at the communion (including Saturday, Sabbath, and Monday,) in the neighbouring parish of Dennino, before the Restoration, after it, and after the Revolution :—

In 1656, ...	£30	4	0	In 1662, ...	£18	4	0
In 1658, ...	26	17	0	In 1666, ...	10	17	0
In 1659, ...	23	4	4	In 1673, ...	11	4	0

In 1688, ...	£16	1	6
In 1690, ...	46	2	0
In 1691, ...	75	19	4

No. IX.

[*MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. XXXII. M.* 6. 14. *art.* 45; *and No.* $\frac{18}{27}$: *Jac. V.* 1. 21. *art.* 64.]

Declaration of Colonel Blood *and his Accomplices in Ireland.*

Haveing long expected the secureing unto us of our lives, liberties, and estates, as bot ane reasonable recompence of that industrie and diligence exercised by the Protestantis of this kingdome in restoreing of his Majestie to the exercise of his royal authoritie in his kingdomes; in steid thereof, we find ourselves, our wyfes, and children, without mercie delyvered as a prey unto these barbarous and bloodie murderers, whose inhumane crueltie is registrated in the blood of 150,000 poor Protestantis at the beginning of the war in this kingdome; all which doeth appear by these insueing sad and infallible simptomes:—

First, That notwithstanding of all the obligation of oathes and covenantis lyeing on his Majestie for the extirpating of Poperie, Prelacie, and such grand malignancie, he hath suffered himself to be so far seduced by evil counsellors, that even the aforesaid blodie Papists, that were deluders of the people unto that barbarous masaker, were now the first that tasted of his royal clemencie, in setleing them in their justlie forfalted estates at his first comeing in, by paper ordores, taken from the Protestantis illegallie, and confirmed on them, and they that had them not had sallaries out of the Exchequer untill they wer restored, although the poor suffering Protestantis despoyled by them never had any recompence for thair losses.

Secondlie, That these vast soumes of money givine by the Protestantis for relief of that armie, which, under God, is the meanes of our preservatione from thair blodie attempts, is disposed of to gratifie the aforesaid inhumane butchers of the poor Protestantis, whilst the said armie parish for want of pay.

Thirdlie, That the Lord Lieutenant, to whose protectione we ar committit, doeth not onlie execute and practise, bot hath owned his keeping a correspondence with several of the said murderers dureing their hostilitie, as appeareth by his certificates in their behalf to the Court of Clames, to which may be added the Hous of Commones of this kingdome's apprehensione, declared in the Speaker's speech to the Duk ; by all which circumstances, we may undoubtedlie, as David did, conclude that evill is determined against us ; and before it be execute, which wold be to late, stand upon our just and necessar defence, and use all our endeavors for our self preservatione, and, like the people with Saull, when he intended to requyte the incomparable desertis of Jonathan with death, to stand up without the sanctuarie and say, As the Lord liveth, Jonathan sall not die ! And to the end no weill mynded Protestantis in the three kingdomes may be afraid to stand be us in this our just quarrell, we doe declar we will stand for that libertie of conscience proper to everie one as a Christian, for establischeing the Protestant religione in puretie, according to the tenor of the Solemne League and Covenant ; the restoreing each persone to his landis, as they held them in the year 1639 ; the dischargeing the armies arreires ; and the repaireing of the breaches maid upon the liberties and priveledges of the corporationes in the thrie kingdomes. In all which, we doubt not bot the Lord of Hosts, the mightie God of Jacob, will strengthen our weik handis.

[*The following paragraph is added to one of the Copies of the above Paper.*]

Dublin, 26th May, 1663. Last Wednesday a great plot wes discovered, headed by the English. The designers, it is reported, wes to surprise his Majestie's Castell of Dublin, with his Grace the Lord Duk, with several of the English nobilitie, which, had it takine effect, might have bred a great confusione. Many of the chief actors ar in custodie, as Levetenant Collonell Scotis, Major Jonstones, Captain Chalmers, Mr ministers, Mr Thomas Boord, merchant, Mr Jepson, Cuxton, (Buxton ?) members, Levetenant

Collonell Warren, James Janner, gentleman, and Captain Landfurd, (Sandfurd?) with many uthers. Severalls have maid their escape, as Collonell Abot, Major Abel Warren, Captain Thomas Blood, Andrew Maccormae (Maccormac?) and Robert Chalmers, ministers, Collonell Gibbie Carr, Major Alexander Stagles, (Staples?) Levetenant Collonel Mor, with many uthers, for which proclamation is publisched, commanding officers, and uthers whatsomever, to apprehend them. It's believed many of them will suffer. They had this declaration fixt on severall pairtes, as is within written.

No. X.

[*MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Caledonia Papers, Jac. V.* 2. 12. *Ser. ii. art.* 37.]

Rules and Ordinances by the Parliament of New Caledonia, for the good Government of the Colony.

The Council and Deputies assembled in Parliament, pursuant to the trust reposed, and the powers and immunities granted, by his Majesty of Great Britain, our Soverayn Lord, communicated and transmitted unto them by the Indian and African Company of Scotland, have, for the good order and government of this Colony, after mature deliberation, agreed and concluded upon the following Rules and Ordinances, as appearing most reasonable, equal and sutable, to be from this time forward binding and obliging; and for that effect, that an ordinary Judicatur, or Court of Justice, be appointed, to consist of such and such number of persons as the Council shall think convenient; the which shall have power to choose their President, and to name and appoint clerks, servants, and all other officers needfull, and to proceed upon, judge, and determin all causes, crimes, and punishments, by and according to the following Rules and Ordinances, which wee do hereby appoint and ordain to have the full force and effect of lawes, within this Colony and its Dependences, by land and sea:—

1. In the first place, it is hereby provided and declared, that the precepts, instructions, examples, commands, and prohibitions exprest and contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, shall not only be binding and obliging, and have the full force and effect of lawes, within this Colony, but are, were, and of right ought to be, the standard, rule, and measure to all the further and other constitutions, rules, and ordinances thereof.

2. He who shall blaspheme or prophane the name of Almighty God, or any of his Divine Attributes, or use any curse or imprecation, after publick acknowledgement, shall suffer three days imprisonment, and confinement to bread, water, and hard labour, for the first offence, and, for the second offence, shall suffer the said punishment for thirty dayes, and, for every other offence, shall be punished at the discretion of the Justiciary Court.

3. Whosoever shall behave himselfe disrespectfully towards the Council, or any of the Councillours, or towards his own or any other officer of this Colony, or shall speak words tending to their or any of their hurt or dishonour, or shall know of such behaviour, or words spoken, and shall not reveal the same with all convenient speed, shall be punished according to the nature of their offence, and quality and circumstances thereof, in the judgement of the Justiciary Court.

4. No man shall, upon pain of death, hold correspondence, give advice, or keep intelligence with any rebell or enemy, as also he who shall know of any such intelligence, and shall not, with all convenient speed, discover the same, and the party or parties therein concerned, to the Council, or some one of the Councillours, or to his superior officer, shall likewayes be lyable to the same punishment.

5. He who shall entice or persuade another, or others, to any rebellious act against the Council and Government of this Colony, shall incurr the pain of death; and whosoever shall know of such offence, and shall not discover the same to the Council, or to some one of the Councillours, or to his superior officer, shall incurr the same punishment.

6. No man shall presume to contrive, endeavour, or cause any mutiny or sedition within this Colony, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think fit.

7. Whosoever shall disobey his superiour Officer, or resist him in the execution of his office, or shall oppose or resist any of the Magistrates or Officers of this Colony, in the execution of their duty and trust, shall suffer the pains of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think fit.

8. He who shall violat any protection, or safe conduct, granted by the Council, and knowing the same, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think just.

9. He who shall use any provocking or upbraiding words or gestures, or shall give the ly, or any manner of reproachful, scandalous, or injurious names, to another of equal quality and degree with himselfe, whither present or absent, or shall strike, or threaten to strike, such a one with his hand, stick, sword in the scabard, whip, stone, or any thing of like nature, shall, besides giving honourable satisfaction to the party injured upon his knees, be therfore condemned to hard labour at the publick works for the space of six moneths; from which labour he shall not desist, withdraw, nor desert, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as the Justiciary Court shall think meet: and if such affronts or injuries shall be given or offered to a superiour, the party offending shall be lyable to double the said punishment at least; and if to an inferiour, the same shall be proportioned sutable to the nature of the case, and the circumstances of the parties concerned.

10. No man shall presume to fight a duel with, or send a challenge to, another; nor shall any one presume to accept of such a challenge or appointment to fight, upon pain of the severest death and highest infamy: And all seconds in duels and appointments to fight, and such as shall know thereof, and shall not reveal the same, and the persons concerned, with all convenient speed, shall be equally lyable to the same punishment.

11. He who shall wilfully hurt or maim any other, shall, sutable to the loss and value of his time, and the grieffe and pain thereby occasioned, as also the expence of curing, and disability of body therby happening, be lyable to make full satisfaction; and if the offender have not to pay, he shall become a servant, and shall so continow, untill full reparation be made to the party injured; and, generaly, the like full reparation shall not only be made for all manner of hurts, violences, wrongs, and damages done, or caused

or offered to be done, but the offender may be further punished, if the nature of the case shall require the same.

12. It shall be death for any man presumptuously and willfully to assault another by such means and weapons as shall put him in evident hazard or danger of his life.

13. All murder, or wilful killing of any person, shall be punished with death.

14. He who shall force a woman to abuse her, whether she belong to an enemy or not, shall suffer death for it.

15. It shall be death to steal, or forcibly to cary or convoy away from this colony, or its dependencies, any man, woman, or child.

17. House-breaking, and all sorts of robing, or forcible thifts, shall be punished with loss of life, or of liberty, at the will of the Justiciary Court.

17. A thieffe shall be oblidged to restore fourfold of the species or value of the thing stollen and damnage done, the one-halfe to the party injured, and the other to be equally divided between the government of this colony and the discoverer of the theft. And if the thiefe have not to pay, he shall be condemned to hard service and labour at the publick or other works, untill full restitution of the value of the thing stolen and damnage done be made, and shall be afterwards obliged to serve the government of this colony, and the discoverer of the theft, for the space of a whole year.

18. All robing of Indian plantations or houses, stealing or taking of provisions, or other things belonging to them, without their free consent, shall be punished as theft.

19. Cuting or breaking down, or otherwayes spoiling of plantan-walks, orange, leamon, or lime trees, or other trees or fruits of use and for suport of life, and all other willful waste and spoil, shall be punished as theft.

20. Whosoever shall presume to sell, imbesle, or willfuly spoile, break, or convoy away any arms, ammunition, axes, hatchets, spades, shovels, pickaxes, or other necessars or stores of warr, or working-tools, belonging to the colony, whether committed to their trust or otherwise, shall be punished as thieves.

21. All willfull and apparent breach of trust, and designed fraud and cheating, shall be punished as theft.

22. All giving and taking of bribes, in order to delay, deny, or pervert justice, shall be punished as theft.

23. Things that are found may not be concealed, but shall be restored to the owner, if known, with all convenient speed ; and where the owner is not known, publick intimation thereof shall be given, otherwise the finder shall become lyable to suffer as a thiefe.

24. Benefits received, and good services done, shall always be generously and thankfuly compensated, whether a prior agreement or bargain hath been made or not ; and if it shall hapen to be otherwise, and the benefactor be obliged justly to complain of the ingratitude, the ungrateful shall, in such case, be obliged to give threefold satisfaction at least.

25. Whosoever shall absent himselfe, go away from, or desert the service of this Colony, or that of any particular person to whom they are bound, besides due chastisement of whiping, shall be obliged to serve a week for every day of such their absence or desertion.

26. No man shall be confined or detained prisoner for above the space of three moneths, without being brought to a lawful trial.

27. All lands, goods, debts, and other effects whatsoever and wheresoever, (except the needful and proper working tools of a mechanick, the proper books of a student or man of reading, and the proper and absolutely necessar wearing cloaths of any person,) shall in the most ready, easy, and absolute manner, be subject to the just and equal satisfaction of debts ; but the person of a free man shall not in any sort be lyable to arreasts, imprisonment, or other restraints whatsoever, for or by reason of debt, unless there shall be fraud, or the design thereof, or willful or aparent breach of trust, missapplication or concealment first proved upon him.

28. In all cases, Criminal and Capital, no judgement or determination shall pass against any man in the Justiciary Court, without the consent and concurrence of a Jury, consisting of fifteen fit persons, to be nominat and chosen by the said Court, in the ordinary and usual manner, out of such a number as they shall think fit.

29. Upon trials of persons or causes, the Justiciary Court shall proceed to examine the witnesses upon oath, and after having heard the prisoner, the party accused or the party concerned, whether for or against the witnesses. The Judges shall afterwards give their opinions one by one, beginning at the youngest in years, and proceeding to the eldest, and shall conclude by majority of votes ; but if the votes be equal, the President shall have a casting voice ;

and when judgement or sentence is to be given, the President shall pronunce it.

30. No man shall presume to sit in court, much less to act as a Judge, or be of the Jury in the case, and during the time that any cause wherein he is party, or any way interested or concerned, shall be under examination or trial.

31. The Justiciary Court shall keep a clerk or clerks, who shall be sworn to make true and faithful records of all the proceedings of that court.

32. No man shall presume to use any braving words, signs, or gesturs, in any place of Council or Judicatur, whilst the Council or Court is sitting, upon pain of such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Court.

33. All things relating to trade and navigation, and not comprehended in or understood by these ordinances, shall be determined by the most known and practised lawes and customs of merchants, and of the sea.

34. *And lastly,* Evry Judge or Member of the Justiciary Court, and evry one of the Jury shall take a solemn oath, duly to administer justice according to these rules, ordinances, and probation taken, to the best of their understanding.

Fort St Andrew, Aprill 24, 1699.

All the saids Rules and Ordinances were read and aproven of, Article by Article, and afterwards past altogether.

COLLIN CAMPBELL, J. P. P.

No. XI.

[*MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LVIII. Jac. V. I.* 11. *art.* 95.]

Extract of a Letter from Mr MACWARD *to Mr* BLEKETER, *on Colonel Wallace's Death.*

Decer. $\frac{5}{15}$ 78.

—I DOUBT not but you have heard of the removeall of worthy and great Wallace, of whom I have no doubt it may be said, he

hath left no man behind him in that church, minister, nor professor, quho hath gone thorow such a varietie of tentations, without turning aside to the right hand or to the left. He died in great serenitie of soul. He had lived abroad such an ornament to his profession, as he was not more lamented by us than by all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance (who were many) as haveing lost the man, who as a mean was mad use of by the Lord to keep life amongst them; yea, the poor ignorant people of the congregation of Rotterdam (besids the more serious and knowing amongst them) bemoan his death, and their lose as of father. And they have good reason; for I must say, he was the most faithfull, feckfull, compassionat, diligent, and indefatigable elder in the work of the Lord, that ever I knew at home or abroad; and as for his care, solicitude, and concernednesse, in the work and people of God, I may say, the care of all the churches lay more upon him than upon hundreds of us, so that the Church of God hath lost more in the removeall of that man than most will suffer themselves to believe. Onely we who know it, have this to comfort ourselves, that the residue of the spirit is with him quho made him such, and that the Great Intercessour lives to plead his own cause, and the causes of his peopls soul. I forgot to tell you, that when the cause for which he had suffered was mentioned, when it was scarce believed he understood or could speake, there was a sunshine of serene joy looked out of his countenance, and a lifting up of hands on high, as to receive the confessor's crown, togither with a lifting up of the the voice with an *aha*, as to sing the conquerour's song of victorie. And to close, I must tell you also, he lived and died in a deep detestation of that wretched indulgence, and of all the wayes of supporting it; and this abrupt account of his death you may give to our friends. In a word, as a compound of all, he fell asleep in the furnace, walking with the Son of God, and now his bones will rise up with the bones of the other great witnesses burried in a strange land, as a testimony against the wrong done to Christ, and the violence used against his followers by this wicked generation, whom the righteous Lord in his time, from him who sitteth upon the throne to the meanest instrument that hath put the mischeifs he framed into a law in execution, will make a gencration of his wrath, of speciall wrath, which must answer and keep proportion unto the wrongs done to the Mediator.—

Macward to Mr Cargill, (Ibid. art. 94.)

[*No date.*]

—Great Wallace is gone to glory. I shut his eyes while he went out of my sight, and was carried to see God, enjoy him, and be made perfectly like him in order to both. Forget not to give me a particular account whether there be any such agreement amongst these young men lately licensed with you.*

No. XII.

[*MS. in possession of the Reverend John Willison, Minister of Forgandenny.*]

Extracts from the Diary of Sergeant James Nisbet.†

I was born in the month of Feberuary, 1667, of parents both of them realy and eminently religious; but the times were extreamly

* It appears from the following extract, that Wallace escaped from confinement after the battle of Dunbar. "Leiutenant Collonell Wallace is escaped, and come to us this daye." (Letter from W. Rowallane, younger, to the Laird of Rowallane,—Dumfreis, Octob. 13, 1650.) Robert Riddell, Esq. has just favoured me with the following notice, which brings the line of the family of Achanes nearer the Colonel than anything I have yet met with. "I, Matthew Wallace of Auchands, grant me to be justlie adebted to Mr John Anderson of Stobcors, the sum of 55 pounds, Scots money," &c. Dated 21st June, 1634, and registered 5th Dec. 1637. (Volume of Bonds, &c. from October 1636, to December 1639: Records of the Commissariot of Glasgow.)

† He was son to John Nisbet of Hardhill, who, after escaping for many years the pursuit of the government, was taken and executed at Edinburgh in 1685. (Scots Worthies.) The sergeant died, about the year 1726, in Edinburgh Castle. (Walker's Life of Peden, 73.) His Diary is chiefly religious, and contains a collection of letters written by him to his Christian acquaintances.

unhappy, because of ane ilegal, tyrannical, prelatical persecution, begun and carried on by Charles the Second, Middleton and Lauderdale, in the state, and treacherous, perfiduous Sharp, and some others, in the church. Because of which, though my parents were persons of considerable worldly substance, yet they could not get the benefit of school education for their children, and so I got little or none but what I acquired at mine own hand when under my hideing. For before I was born, my father, with others, being set on by the enemy at Pentland-hills, 1666, when they were standing up in defence of the gospel, and was by the enemy routed, and many of them slain, and my father received wounds, but, lying close among the dead till night, got of with life. The enemy came to his house in quest of him, but missing him, they held a drawn sword to my mother's breast, who had me in her belly, threatening to run her through unless she would discover her husband. She, weeping, told them, that for any thing she knew, he was killed, (for she had heard that it was so,) and that she had not seen him; so they took what made for them in the house, and went off. But some days after, getting notice that he was still alive, they returned with greater fury then before, and threatened her with present death, first with a drawn sword at her breast, and also with a bended pistol; and, contrair to all law divine and humane, they dragged her alongst with them with a burning candle in her hand, through all the rooms of the maine house, and then through all the office-houses, they still rageing with their drawn swords and bended pistols; but, after all their search, they missing my father, beat the servants, to strike the greater terrour on my mother to tell where her husband was; but she could not. Then they took a young man, called David Finlay, alongst with them to where their chief commander lay, called General Dalziel. He caused the said David Finlay to be shot to death in less then half ane hour's warning, and carried away all my father's stock of moveable effects, which was considerably great; and for half a year there was hardly a day ever passed bot they were at the house, either in the night or day, in search of my father.—

—In the year 1678, there was a great host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the westren shires. The shire of Air was the centre of their encampment or cantooning, where they pillaged, plundered, theeved, and robbed night and day; even

the Lord's day they regarded as little as any other. At their first coming, four of them came to my father's house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt; they told him they were come to make the Fig (so they termed the Presbyterians) to take with God and the king. This they came over again and again. They pointed to their shoes, and said they would have the broge off his foot, and accordingly laid hands on him, but he threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitch-fork which was used at the stalking of his corn, and they having their broadswords drawn, cryed, "Clymore," and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kilne, and chaseing them all four a space from the house, knocked one of them to the ground. The next day about twenty of them came to the house, but he not being at home, they told they were come to take the Fig and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who was not conform to the then laws; and such was their theevish dispositions, and so well versed were they at the second sight, that, let people hide never so well, these men would go as straight to where it was, whether beneath the ground or above, as though they had been at the putting of it there, search for it, dig it up, and away with it.

—When my father came [to Drumclog], the good people who were met to hear sermon, and the enemy, were drawn up in battle array, in order to fight. Five or six of the gentlemen who came to hear sermon, that were most fit to command the country people, took upon them to command, because some of them had been formerly in the military, as likewise my father had been. Two of whom went to meet my father when within sight, and gave him an account how matters was, and pointed out to him where Mr King was guarded on the left of the enemy by ane officer and four dragoons, and the officer had orders to shoot Mr King if they lost, and if the country people lost, all that was or should be taken prisoners was to be hanged immediately after battle. My father being a strong, bold, and resolate man, went on boldly and briskly in all the parts of the action, especially in the relief of Mr King, whom he set at liberty; which boldness and activity of his was much taken notice of by the enemy. The enemy lost the day, and had about 30 or 35 of their number slain, whereof, they said, my father killed seven with his awn hand, which much exposed him and all his to their after revenging fury.—

—1682. The cruel enemy got my dear brother into their hands. They examined him concerning the persecuted people where they haunted, or if he knew where any of them was, but he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them; they spoke him fair—they offered him money to speak and tell them, but he would not—they held the point of a drawn sword to his naked breast—they fired a pistol over his head—they set him on horseback behind one of themselves, to be taken away and hanged—they tyed a cloath on his face, and set him on his knees to be shot to death—they beat him with their swords and with their fists—they kicked him several times to the ground with their feet; yet, after they had used all the cruelty they could, he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them; and although he was a very comely proper child, going in ten years of age, yet they called him a vile, ugly dumb devil, and beat him very sore, and went their way, leaving him lying on the ground, sore bleeding in the open fields.

—1683. Being the 14 year of my age, in July, one morning at five o'clock, I went out to a wood, and within a little I heard the sound of people among the trees drawing near to me. I looked up and saw men cloathed in red, and as I got to my feet, one of them bade me be shot. I said to him, "What good will my blood do to you?" And when he cocked his pistol, another of them said, "Hold, man, do not shoot the bonny lad." The man with the pistol said, "He is a Whig; I saw him on his knees." They asked my name, and I told them my new name. They said to one another, they had none in their list of that name. They asked me, who learned me to pray. I told them, my Bible. He that commanded them, I think he was a serjeant, said, "Since we have none of that name, let him alone." The first man that came unto me, swore again, that he would have me shot, but two of them would not let him. There was about twelve of them in all, but none of them spoke to me but three, and two of these were for sparing my life, and so they went off and left me.—

—1685, *April* 26.—In the morning the servants went to work in the fields, and I was with them. A little before nine of the cloc in the forenoon, we saw a troop of dragoons coming at the gallop Mr Peden and these that was with him in the house fled, whic we at work knew nothing of, but we ran every one as Providenc directed; and the watchful providence of God, which was eve

kind to me, led me as by the hand to a moss near two miles from where we were working, to which moss Mr Peden, and those that were with him, were fled for shelter, which I knew nothing of. The way to it was very steep and ascending ground. Two of the dragoons pursued me very hard, but spying another man in their pursuit of me, him they pursued off at the right hand of my way: they fired at him, but it pleased the Lord he escaped at that time. Then other two of them came in chase of me. I was sore put to for my life. The day was very hot, the sun bright in my face, and the way mountainous, yet the Lord was very kind to me, and enabled me to run. I had many thoughts of turning to this or that way, and often I had thoughts of diving in moss-water pits, and saving my head in the rush bushes; and yet I was overpowered, beyond my inclination, to keep on in my way to the moss where Mr Peden and the rest were, at the edge of which there was a bogg or morass, about seven or eight yards broad, to which my good guardian kind Providence brought me at last; and here the Lord was a present help in the time of need to me, for just as I was drawing myself out of the bogg by the heather of the moss, the two dragoons came to the other side of the bogg, and seeing they could not get through with their horses to me, they called on me, "Stand, dog, and be shot." By this time I was got out of the bog to my knees on the heather. They fired upon me, but God directed the ball by my left ear, so close that it carried off some of my hair. I, finding that I had escaped the shott, ran farther into the moss, kind Providence leading me where Mr Peden, with about twenty more of the persecuted people, were, in meeting with whom I was gladly surprised; but I was so outrun, that it was sometime before I could speak any. We stayed there about three hours, till there came another troop of the enemy to join the first troop, and seeing them dismount their horses, to take the moss on their foot to search us out, after some firing on both sides, where was no execution done, we drew off, and travelled the midst of the moss. They seeing this, horsed again, and pursued us by the edges of the moss; but we allways kept ourselves on such ground where horses could not pass. We ran that day about thirty miles, the enemy still pursuing us. We got no manner of refreshment all that day but moss-water, till night, that each of us got a drink of milk. Mr Peden left these that were with him, and went one way, and I left them

and went another way. I lay all night far from any house, amongst heather; to-morrow, when I awaked, after the sun arose, I saw about 200 horse and foot searching all the country far and near; but I seeing no way of escape unobserved by the enemy, clapt closs amongst the heather; and so kind and condescending was the Lord to me, that not one of the enemy did touch at the place where I lay.—

—Within three or four days, Graham of Claverhouse, a violent persecutor, came for a general search with 100 horse and 300 Highland men. They got sight of seven of us about the middle of the day. They pursued us all that day for thirty-two miles, till midnight, but the Lord preserved us from these blood-thirsty men. We got no refreshment all that day, except a few mouthfuls of bread and cheese and moss-water; but the horse getting before us, and the foot being behind us, and we very much fatigued, we were brought to a straight what to resolve upon. But at last finding my comrades resolving still to run, I told them, that the Lord had preserved me these days past by running, but now, if he hid me not some other way, I must fall a sacrifice to the enemy; so, after prayer, my friends and I parted in the fields before the sun rose. Then I went to as obscure a place as I could think on, and clapt as closs as I could.—The enemy pushed by me on both sides of the place where I lay, like sons of Lucifer, their father; but He who made them held their eyes, that they saw me not, although they were three times within pistol-shot of me.—

—After this I languished some days, and then was seized with a high and violent fever. I got in to a poor man's house, and his wife made me a bed in the byre, beside the cows, that her husband might not see me, that so he might be free to give his oath that he harboured no whiggs. The very next day, one Colonel Buchan came with two troops of dragoons to search that country a second time. He, with five more, dishorsed, and came into the poor cottage where I was lying, and asked the poor woman, what men was in this den. She answered, she had no men, but a young lad of her own lying sick, at the point of death. Then they came where I was, and he lifted up my head by the hair, and a bended pistol in his right hand. He looked me broad in the face, and said to these that were with him, "There is nothing here but a young creature dying;" and so let my head fall out of his hand and went away;

but I was then so sick, that I was not capable of fear at the danger nor of joy at the escape. The poor woman conceived such fear, lest she came to trouble on my account, would not, for any persuasion, let me stay, and so I was carried a great way to another poor man's house.—

No. XIII.

[*Paper Office.— Copy communicated by* JOHN RIDDELL, *Esq.*]

The KING'S *Letter to the* PRIVY COUNCIL, *concerning Mr* ARCHIBALD RIDDELL, *and* JAMES STEWART *of Freswick.*

WILLIAM REX,

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved cousin and councellor, right trusty and right well beloved cousins and councellors, right trusty and well beloved councellors, and trusty and well beloved councellors, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed that Mr Archibald Riddell,* Minister of the Gospel, and James Sinclair of Freswick, are prisoners in France, and are very hardly used, whom

* Mr Riddell was liberated from the Bass in 1635, on condition of his transporting himself to New Jersey, in America, to which he went in a ship freighted by Scot of Pitlochy. On his passage home, in 1639, his wife and three of her relations died, and he was carried prisoner into France, and treated with great harshness. The MS. from which Wodrow drew his information respecting this, (ii. 566—569.) is preserved in the Advocates' Library. (No. XXXIII. Jac. V. I. 25. Art. 117.) In the same library are letters from Mr Riddell to Lady Carlops, (No. XXXVII. Jac. V. I. 17. art. 26.) After his return to Scotland he became minister of Kircaldy. Law mentions "Mr Riddell, a *new* admitted minister," as at "Minniboll" (Maybole) communion in 1678. (Memor. 140.) But, as early as May 3, 1674, he had held a conventicle, in the house of Mr Patrick Glass, in Corstorphin. (Decr. Sec. Concil. May 6, 1674.) Mr Riddell's Examination before a committee of Privy Council in 1680, which places his character in a highly favourable light, is given at large by Wodrow. (ii. 128—132.)

we resolve to have released, by exchange with two priests now prisoners in Scotland; therefore will require you to call for the friends and nearest relations of the said Mr Archibald Riddell and James Sinclair, and signify our royal pleasure to them, in exchange of these two prisoners with the two priests that shall be condescended upon, and authorise them not only to speak with the two priests, but also to write to France anent negociating their friends' liberty; and that you cause these two priests to be condescended upon be securely keeped, and make intimation to them, that they shall be used in the same way and manner as the French king uses the said Scots prisoners, which they may be ordered to acquaint their friends in France with, that the exchange may be the more easily effected. For doing of which these presents shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Kensington $16\frac{89}{90}$, and of our reigne the first year.

By his Majestie's command,

MELVILL.

Directed on the back, "To the Duke of Hamilton, President, and the rest of the Privy Council of Scotland."

No. XIV.

[*Register of Deeds, &c. in Register-House, recorded 6th of March*, 1701.]

Letter and Receipt to GEORGE OGILVY *of Barras, concerning the Registers of the Church of Scotland.*

IN presense, &c. compeared Mr THOMAS VEITCH, Advocat, as Procurator, &c.

SIR,

THERE being here, by the Lord's providence, a considerable

number of the Commission of the Kirk, and takeing to consideration the condition of the Registers of the Kirk that are with you in the house of Dunnoatre, have thought it fit they be delivered to my Lord Ballcarras, to be disposed on as the Committee of Estates hes ordaind the honors of the kingdom to be disposed of, whereof these presents shall be a warrant to you; and in doeing hereof yow shall obleige us to continue your affectionat freinds in the Lord. *Sic subtr.* Mr Ja. Wood, M. O. Colt, James Robertsone, Mr William Douglass, Mr E. Melvill, Ro. Kerr,* Mr Robert Young, M. F. Carmichaell, Mr W^m^. Strachan. Dated from Aberdein this 1st of Sept^r^.—Follows the recept on the end of the said missive letter: I Alex^r^. Lord Ballcarras, grant me, conform to the above written warrand, to have receaved from George Ogilvie of Barrows, Liv^t^. Governour of Dunnoatre, the Registers of the Kirk above specifiet by thir presents, written by Mr Alex^r^. Patton, wryter in Edinburgh. Subscribit with my hand att Stonehyve, the 2d day of September, one thousand six hundred & fiftie-

* The person here referred to was Mr Robert Ker, (son to Mr John Ker, minister of Prestonpans,) who was admitted minister of Prestonpans in 1638, and translated to Haddington in 1646. (Rec. of Presbytery of Haddington.) He was a non-conformist at the Restoration, (Wodrow, I. App. 73,) and died, aged 68, on the 4th of February 1677. (Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, II.—155.) This agrees exactly with the account, given above, (p. 497,) of the person among whose papers the registers were found in 1677. To this may be added, that his brother, Mr Andrew Ker, was, in 1649, Clerk to the General Assembly, as well as Town-clerk of Edinburgh, and was afterwards one of Cromwell's judges. "*Penult. July* 1633. This day Mr Andrew Kerr, sone to Mr Jo^n^. Kerr, minister at Prestoun, wes admitted Advocat." (Abridgement of the Sederunt Books of Session, vol. I. Adv. Lib. Jac. V. 32.) "Maister Andro Ker, Common Clerk of Edinburgh, eldest lauchfull sone to umquhile Mr Johne Ker, minister of Saltpreston—made Burges and Guildbruther—be right of his said umquhile father, Burges of the samen." (Record of Admission of Burgesses in Edinburgh, 14th Feb. 1649. Comp. Acts of Assembly; Act. Parl. Scot. VI. 569; and Lord Hailes, Catal. p. 16. no. 60.)

one years, before thir witnesses, Thomas Strachan and Walter Logan. *Sic subtr.* BALLCARRAS. THOMAS STRACHAN, *witnes.* WALTER LOGAN, *witnes.*

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